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The

American Historical Review

HUMANIST VIEWS OF THE RENAISSANCE

THE problem of the Renaissance—its character, its causes, and its relation to the Middle Ages—has been one of the most controversial subjects in recent historiography. The relative unanimity of opinion entertained by the followers of Jacob Burckhardt has degenerated during the past generation into chaos. The chronological limits of the Renaissance have been expanded to include the high Middle Ages or have been contracted almost to the vanishing point. The term itself has been used to designate, on the one hand, the entire history of a chronological epoch and, on the other, no more than certain specific developments in literature and the arts. There has been heated debate over the essential character or spirit of Renaissance culture and over the relative causative importance of race, nationality, classical literature, Franciscan mysticism, and economic forces.

Under these circumstances the problem of the Renaissance has become a problem in the field of historiography as well as in the field of history. Numerous articles and monographs, mostly of German origin, have been devoted to the historical development of our conceptions of the Renaissance and, incidentally, of the Middle Ages.¹ The subject is, however, too large and too complex for adequate treatment in a single article. The purpose of the present essay is merely to investigate as thoroughly as possible the first chronological period in the history of

¹ See Walter Goetz, "Mittelalter und Renaissance", *Historische Zeitschrift*, XCVIII (1907), 30-54; Karl Brandi, *Das Werden der Renaissance* (Göttingen, 1908); Adolf Philippi, *Der Begriff der Renaissance* (Leipzig, 1912); Paul Lehmann, *Vom Mittelalter* (Munich, 1914); Werner Weisbach, "Renaissance als Stilbegriff", *Hist. Zeitsch.*, CXX (1919), 250-80; E. F. Jacob, "The Fifteenth Century: Some Recent Interpretations", *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, XIV (1930), 386-409, and "Changing Views of the Renaissance", *History*, XVI (Apr., 1931-Jan., 1932), 214-29; J. Huizinga, "Das Problem der Renaissance", in his *Wege der Kulturgeschichte* (Munich, 1930); Johan Nordström, *Moyen Age et Renaissance* (Paris, 1933); H. W. Eppelsheimer, "Das Renaissance-Problem", *Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte*, XI (1933), 477-500; G. Weise, "Der doppelte Begriff der Renaissance", *ibid.*, 501-29; C. Neumann, "Ende des Mittelalters?", *ibid.*, XII (1934), 124-71.

Renaissance historiography, that represented by the historical, biographical, and critical works of the Italian humanists.

The conceptions held by the humanists of the course of history from antiquity, through what has since been called the Middle Ages, to their own time have a double significance. In themselves they are an important aspect of Renaissance thought, and they had also a not inconsiderable role in shaping the historical ideas of later writers. Yet it is difficult to discover from secondary works what the humanists actually had to say on this interesting subject. There has been much loose generalization from occasional *obiter dicta*. Those modern scholars who have sought the origins of the *Renaissancebegriff* or of the concept of the Middle Ages in the writings of the humanists have limited their research almost entirely to the use of words implying rebirth or the idea of a *medium aevum*.² This is notably true of Konrad Burdach and Karl Borinski, who have furnished the most exhaustive investigation into the origins of the word and the idea of rebirth in this period.³ They have, indeed, made valuable contributions to our knowledge of the pagan and Christian origins and early history of religious, political, and chiliastic conceptions of rebirth and reformation. But Borinski is more interested in the symbolical and philosophical expression of ideas of rebirth of the world than in the historical ideas of the Renaissance writers. Burdach, too, has paid little attention to the historical works of the humanists, and his argument suffers from a tendency to press every obscure reference to rebirth, reformation, or regeneration into the service of his thesis that the Renaissance was essentially the conscious rebirth of the human soul, an *innerliche Bewegung* rising from the subjective religious emotion of the later Middle Ages and re-enforced by a growing consciousness of Italian national rebirth in the age of Dante, Petrarch, and Cola da Rienzi.⁴ For the present purpose of trying to discover what were the Italian humanists' conceptions of their own and past ages and of the general course and periodization of history, I have felt it better to

² See the articles by Brandi, Lehmann, Weisbach, and Huizinga, cited above. Philippi's monograph is rather an exception but is limited to the history of the fine arts.

³ Burdach, "Sinn und Ursprung der Worte Renaissance und Reformation", *Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* (1910), 594-646; Borinski, "Die Weltwiedergeburtsidee in den neueren Zeiten", *Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* (1919), I Abh., pp. 1-130.

⁴ See also Burdach, *Deutsche Renaissance* (Berlin, 1916), and *Rienzo und die geistige Wandlung seiner Zeit* (2 vols., Berlin, 1913-28). For criticism see Jacob, *History*, XVI, 222, and Paul Joachimsen, "Vom Mittelalter zur Reformation", *Historische Vierteljahrschrift*, XX (1922), 426-70.

abandon the search for their use of words meaning rebirth or Middle Ages and to seek instead the fullest and most coherent discussions of the problem to be found in their works.

I

The age of the Renaissance saw the birth of modern historiography. Nearly all the leading humanists wrote some history, and the best of them showed an awareness of the essential nature of historical writing that sets their work clearly apart from the chronicles of the preceding centuries. Their historical works, therefore, should naturally form one of the first sources to be examined in any attempt to discover their picture of their own age and its relation to the past. These works, however, have been almost entirely ignored in the search for early conceptions of the Renaissance and the Middle Ages, and, in general, they have been treated very superficially by the historians of Renaissance culture. Much of this neglect has been due, undoubtedly, to the humanists' own very narrow view of the scope of history. For them history was simply past politics. Their histories scarcely mention the economic life of the people, and, though many of them commented elsewhere on the history of literature and art, they excluded these subjects from their formal histories as pertaining to a different genre. Still another reason for the comparative neglect of the humanists as historians applies particularly to those who wrote in stylistic Latin under the direct influence of classical models. Since Burckhardt it has been the fashion to dismiss them as sterile imitators of Livy and Sallust and to deplore the lack of definite chronology, local color, and specific realism, which resulted from the use of a rhetorical style and of a vocabulary that was not adapted to postclassical institutions.⁵

Whatever may be the justice of this criticism, and it is at least open to question,⁶ it can scarcely be denied that the best of the humanist histories had advanced far beyond the naïve and formless medieval

⁵ See Jakob Burckhardt, *Die Cultur der Renaissance in Italien* (Basle, 1860), p. 238 ff. (Eng. trans. by S. G. C. Middlemore, 1921, pp. 244 ff.). For more recent expression of the same criticism, though with some modifications, see Eduard Fueter, *Geschichte der neueren Historiographie* (3d ed., enlarged, Munich, 1936), pp. 9 ff., 18 ff.; Vittorio Rossi, *Il Quattrocento* (new ed., Milan, 1933), pp. 169 ff.; Ferdinand Schevill, *History of Florence* (New York, 1936), p. xvii.

⁶ Emilio Santini, *Leonardo Bruni Aretino e i suoi "Historiarum Florentini populi libri XII"* (Pisa, 1910), p. 88; Walter Goetz, "Renaissance und Antike", *Hist. Zeitsch.*, CXIII (1914), 254 f.

chronicles in perspective, coherent organization, and critical sense.⁷ Above all, the humanists had taken an essential step in the direction of sound historical thought by abandoning the medieval habit of ascribing all events to supernatural causes. They no longer saw history merely as the working out of divine providence but rather as the record of human activity, inspired by human motives. A part of this advance, but only a part, must be ascribed to the advantages of a classical education. More important than the fact that they were classical scholars was the fact that most of them were laymen who had had wide experience in business, law, government, or diplomacy. Even those whose connection with the papal curia or whose search for benefices had given them a nominal status as clergy had a thoroughly lay point of view. They represented at once the secular attitude of the now dominating class of educated urban laity and the practical politics and diplomacy of the newly developed states. The humanists brought to the writing of history an appreciation of the part played by individuals, parties, and states that was far beyond the range of the monastic chroniclers and also a knowledge of the past and a breadth of political experience far greater than had been enjoyed by the medieval burghers whose chronicles were devoted exclusively to the interests of their own self-centered communes. They wrote a different kind of history from that of the Middle Ages not only because they had a different kind of education but because they lived in a different economic, social, and political environment. And it was just because they expressed the ideas and interests of the most influential classes of their day that their work is significant for the history of Renaissance culture and that their picture of their own and past ages, despite their unfortunate limitation to political history, is too important to be ignored.

It cannot be denied, however, that exclusive preoccupation with politics did rob the humanist histories of much of the interest they might otherwise have possessed. This is particularly true of those that dealt only with the military, diplomatic, and political history of their own time. There is little of value in them for our purpose. Those that included a large section of the past are much more significant. Even purely political history, when extended far enough into the past, pro-

⁷ See an illuminating discussion of the advances made in historiography during the fifteenth century in Hans Baron, "Das Erwachen des historischen Denkens im Humanismus des Quattrocento", in *Hist. Zeitsch.*, CXLVII (1932), 5-20; see also Paul Joachimsen, *Geschichtsauffassung und Geschichtsschreibung in Deutschland unter dem Einfluss des Humanismus* (Leipzig, 1910), pp. 19 ff. Even Fueter admits the advance in the use of criticism (p. 17).

vides an opportunity for the development of historical perspective and makes almost inevitable the creation of some time scheme or periodization that will fit the purposes of the narrative. It also opens the way to rational speculation, if on very limited grounds, as to the reasons for the rise and decline of states and the nature of historical change. Finally, political history provides a medium for the expression and development of patriotic or national sentiments which may color the historian's whole picture of the past and its relation to the present.

Indeed, it was the very fact that they were writing the political history of states that forced the humanists to adopt an organization and periodization of history and a method of interpretation radically different from that common in the Middle Ages. The world chronicles of the medieval churchmen were constructed on a basis of theology and were shaped by concepts of a divinely ordained universal church with its secular counterpart in a universal empire. They divided human history into six ages, corresponding to the six days of creation, or, more frequently, into the four monarchies mentioned in the prophecy of Daniel (2:40). The fourth and last of these monarchies had been definitely identified by St. Jerome with the Roman Empire.⁸ Under the influence of Augustine and Orosius the idea of the Roman Empire as the last of the world monarchies, which should continue until the beginning of the reign of Antichrist, was transferred from the pagan to the Christian empire, and the belief in the necessary continuity of the Roman Empire was maintained throughout the Middle Ages by the fiction of the *translatio imperii ad Francos* or *ad Teutonicos*.⁹ As long as historical thought remained within this framework of supernatural teleology there could be no idea of a distinction between ancient Roman civilization and that of the age following the breakup of the empire nor of a rising civilization after the darkest period was passed. Many of the medieval historians, as Otto of Freising, were aware of the decline of the Roman Empire, but only as a symptom of the general senescence of a world approaching its end. In any case it was regarded as the continuous decline of a universal empire still existing in their own day.¹⁰ This view of the empire was still accepted in Dante's time and formed the basis of his political theories in the *De monarchia*. Such an organization of world history was perfectly adapted to the needs of medieval

⁸ Borinski, *Sitz. Bayerischen Akad.*, I, 35.

⁹ Walther Rehm, *Der Untergang Roms in abendländischen Denken* (Leipzig, 1930), pp. 27 f.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 33-41.

theologians and fitted the conception of the unity and universal character of the *Respublica Christiana*. It could not satisfy the humanist historians, who were primarily interested in the secular history of individual Italian states.

The transition from medieval to Renaissance modes of thought was in this as in all other respects a gradual one. The changing mental attitudes that came with the growth of the cities and the appearance of an educated urban laity were expressed first in the practical fields of business and politics. It was only after considerable delay and by slow degrees that they began to operate in the fields of more abstract thought and speculation which had so long been dominated by theology and scholastic philosophy. Among the historians the figure of Giovanni Villani marks one of the early stages in this transition. Like so many of his humanist successors, he was a practical man of affairs. His discussion of contemporary economic and political life in Florence is based on acute and independent observation. But, as Professor Schevill has noted, "on the reflective and speculative side of his mind he remained contentedly a medieval man".¹¹

Though his interests were in many respects different from those of the medieval world chroniclers, Villani accepted their supernaturalistic interpretation of world history. He begins his *Cronica* with the Tower of Babel, recounts with complete credence the mythological stories of the founding of his city, and observes at every turn the workings of divine providence. Yet he does not mention the six ages or the four monarchies, and toward the end of his book he makes an effort to work out a new scheme of periodization together with what he probably regarded as a more natural theory of causation. With the aid of current astrology he developed a historical scheme based on the conjunctions of certain planets, occurring at approximately twenty-year intervals, which were invariably accompanied by great changes in the course of history, such as the conquest of Sicily by Robert Guiscard or the defeat of Manfred by Charles of Anjou.¹² Modern historians may regard this as no great improvement over the lore of the four monarchies, but it had, at least, the incidental value of making the decline of the Roman Empire, because of the barbarian invasions, the starting point for a new

¹¹ *History of Florence*, p. 227. See a similar judgment in Ernst Mehl, *Die Weltanschauung des Giovanni Villani* (Leipzig, 1927), p. 181.

¹² Giovanni Villani, *Cronica*, xii, 41, in *Croniche di Giovanni, Matteo, e Filippo Villani, secondo le migliori stampe* (Trieste, 1857), I, 469. See Mehl, pp. 169 ff. for a fuller explanation of Villani's astrological periodization.

historical epoch, for the first and most powerful of the forty-eight conjunctions was that which marked the invasion of Italy by the Goths and Vandals, some 960 or 953 years prior to the last conjunction of 1345.¹³

A generation later, Petrarch, with his romantic admiration for ancient Roman literature and republican virtue, emphasized the distinction between the period of purely Roman history and the Christian-barbarian era that followed.¹⁴ He rejected the *translatio imperii* as an actual impossibility, for the Roman *imperium* belonged to Rome alone, having sprung from the *virtus* of the Roman people, and could not be alienated. "Si imperium Romanum Rome non est, ubi, queso, est?"¹⁵ But if Petrarch did not share Dante's teleological belief in the continuation of the Roman Empire, he had an equally unhistorical faith in the mystical continuation of the *virtus Romana* among the degenerate Roman populace of his own day and in the possibility of a political rebirth of the ancient republic, whence his enthusiastic approval of Cola di Rienzi's fantastic revolution.¹⁶ This identification of virtuous republican Rome with the papal city as it was in the fourteenth century bore so little relation to reality that it made no great impression on the later humanists. Nevertheless, Petrarch's literary devotion to the ancient republic, his ascription of its greatness to human causes, and his clear distinction between what was Roman and what was barbarian or Teutonic were all to bear fruit. It was left for the humanist historians of the Quattrocento, however, to adapt these ideas to the political interests and realities of their own age and to fashion a coherent scheme of secular Italian history.

One of the prime motives inspiring all humanist historiography was patriotic sentiment. This was certainly true of Petrarch and true also of the historians of the following century; but the latter wore their patriotism with a difference. The argument, so frequently repeated as to be a historical commonplace, that the Italians of the Renaissance recognized in ancient Rome the glory of their own national past and that their enthusiasm for Roman antiquity was re-enforced by national senti-

¹³ "E in novecentosessanta, ovvero in novecentocinquantatrè anni fornite le quarantotto congiunzioni; e tornando alla prima, ch' è la più poderosa di tutte, chi cercherà indietro troverà il cominciamento del calo della potenza del romano imperio alla venuta de' Goti e de' Vandali in Italia, e molte turbazioni a Santa Chiesa, et caetera." *Cronica*, xii, 41 (ed. 1857, I, 469).

¹⁴ Hanns Wilhelm Eppelsheimer, *Petrarca* (Bonn, 1926), p. 82.

¹⁵ Petrarch, *Liber sine nomine*, letter 4, in Paul Piur, *Petrarcas 'Buch ohne Namen' und die päpstliche Kurie* (Halle, 1925), p. 176.

¹⁶ Eppelsheimer, *Petrarca*, pp. 78, 100 ff.; Baron, *Hist. Zeitsch.*, CXLVII, 8.

ment applies more truly to Petrarch than to the majority of his successors. His life in exile from his paternal city had given him a romantic national patriotism that was rare in Renaissance Italy, while his psychological shrinking from the realities of the present led him to seek compensation in the ancient glories of his native land.

The later humanists, for the most part, lived in more contented harmony with present reality. Like Petrarch, they were proud of the past glories of Rome, and they showed a certain degree of national consciousness in their pride in the achievements of modern Italy and in their dislike and contempt for the barbarians of the north; but the most fervid patriotism of nearly all fifteenth century Italians was concentrated on their own particular states. To celebrate the history of one of the Italian states was the patriotic motive that inspired the majority of humanist historians or was imposed upon them by their official patrons. And since these city-states arose only after the collapse of the Roman Empire, those historians who did not limit their work to purely contemporary events naturally began their story with the decline of the empire and carried it through the medieval period in which the cities grew great.¹⁷ The result was a new periodization of history, with the decline of the empire marking the end of one epoch and the beginning of another.¹⁸

Leonardo Bruni, called Aretino, was the founder and one of the most profound exponents of the new school of humanist historiography. In his *Historiarum Florentini populi libri xii*,¹⁹ begun about 1415 and still not quite completed at his death in 1444, he set a standard for the critical use of sources, for the rejection of legend, and for the interpretation of political history according to human and natural causes. This work had a very wide influence, though one of its most striking characteristics, the strongly republican interpretation of history, could not be followed very far by the wandering humanists who wrote at the command of princely despots. In this respect Bruni's thought was more in

¹⁷ The idea, originating with Georg Voigt (*Enca Silvio*, II [Berlin, 1862], pp. 309 f.) and since frequently repeated (as in Lehmann, p. 4) that the humanists wrote only ancient and contemporary history and ignored the Middle Ages is far from the truth. Few wrote ancient history, but many wrote on the Middle Ages. See Fueter, pp. 16, 28 f.

¹⁸ This, of course, applies only to the fifteenth century historians who wrote in the humanist tradition. An occasional friar whose training had been more scholastic than humanistic still wrote world chronicles of the old type, e.g., Antonio Pierozzi, whose *Chronicon universale* (completed in 1459) was based on the old scheme of the six ages and four monarchies. See Joachimsen, pp. 80 ff.

¹⁹ Recently republished in the new edition of L. A. Muratori, *Rerum Italicarum scriptores*, Vol. XIX, pt. 3, ed. by Emilio Santini, 1914.

harmony with Florentine burgher humanism than with that of the despotic courts. His own thought, too, had been profoundly influenced by Aristotle's *Politics*, with its emphasis on the connection between civic virtue and the public life of the city-state.²⁰ More than any historian of his generation he perceived the vitally important role of the free Italian communes in the evolution of modern Italy. Consequently he regarded the dissolution of the Roman Empire less as an unrelieved disaster than as a necessary prelude to the rise of the communes, thus providing, as Santini observes, the first historical justification of the Middle Ages.²¹

Bruni's feeling for political liberty colors his whole interpretation of the problem of the decline and fall of the Roman Empire. Rome reached the apex of her power in the days of the republic; the decline began with the loss of political freedom under the despotism of the emperors.²² He admits that Augustus and Trajan accomplished some good things and that there were others worthy of praise; but, he argues, if one considers the number of excellent men put to death by Augustus, the savage cruelty of Tiberius, the madness of Caligula, and so on through a long list of "such monsters", it cannot be denied that the Roman *imperium* began to go to ruin when first the name of Caesar fell like a disaster upon the city.²³ Freedom ended with the appearance of the imperial title, "et post libertatem virtus abivit".

This conception of the decline of Rome as beginning with the creation of the imperial monarchy was not entirely new, though it was foreign to the thought of the Middle Ages. Petrarch, with his literary passion for the Roman republic, had already suggested it.²⁴ There is a hint of it, too, in Orosius,²⁵ but it is unlikely that this was the source of Bruni's theory,²⁶ for the latter based his conclusions on entirely different grounds. Bruni saw the fundamental cause of the empire's decline in the moral effects of despotism, just as the greatness of the republic had

²⁰ Introduction to Leonardo Bruni Aretino, *Humanistisch-philosophische Schriften*, ed. by Hans Baron (Leipzig, 1928), pp. xviii ff.

²¹ *L. Bruni e i suoi Hist.*, pp. 41 ff.

²² "Declinationem autem romani imperii ab eo fere tempore ponendam reor quo, amissa libertate, imperatoribus servire Roma incepit", *Hist. Flor. pop.*, p. 14.

²³ *Ibid.*: "negare non poterit tunc romanum imperium ruere coepisse, cum primo caesareum nomen, tanquam clades aliqua, civitati incubuit".

²⁴ Eppelsheimer, *Petrarca*, p. 93.

²⁵ Paulus Orosius, *Historiarum adversum paganos libri vii*, vi, 14: "Caesar Galliam perdomuit Romanumque imperium usque ad extremos propemodum terrae terminos propagatum est. Hanc nunc amplissimam dilatationem vastissima ruina consequitur." *Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum latinorum*, V (1882), 393.

²⁶ As suggested by Rossi, p. 171. See Santini, *L. Bruni e i suoi Hist.*, page 39, and his note to page 14 of the *Hist. Flor. pop.* for an argument to the contrary.

been due to the moral qualities engendered by freedom. In the old days, he says, virtue had opened the road to honors, and those who surpassed their fellows in greatness of soul (*magnitudine animi*), virtue, and industry easily achieved the highest offices. But as soon as the republic fell under the power of one man, virtue and magnanimity began to be suspect, and only those pleased the emperors who had not that *vis ingenii* which love of liberty stimulates. Thus weaklings took the place of the strong; instead of the industrious, sycophants filled the court; and the government, having been given over to the worst element, brought ruin on the empire. Bruni gives a long list of the crimes and revolutions that were the inevitable result of this situation. At first the strength of Rome enabled her to keep her enemies at bay despite these internal ills, but after Constantine had moved the capital to Byzantium, Italy and the other parts of the empire in the West were neglected and left open to the invasions of the barbarians, "qui ceu in vacuum possessionem ruentes, variis temporibus, tanquam diluvia quaedam, has terras inundarunt".²⁷

The last vivid picture leaves no doubt in the reader's mind that the Roman Empire in the West was no more. If there remain any doubts as to Bruni's conviction on that score, they are set at rest by his later discussion of the coronation of Charlemagne and the "usurpation" of the imperial title in Germany down to his own day.²⁸ To make his point clear he reviews the whole history of the empire and the imperial title. He insists on the purely Roman character of the empire, which was the creation of the Roman people, and finally on the fact that it ceased to exist in the West after the barbarian invasions—after Augustulus no ruler of the West bore the title of emperor until Charlemagne.²⁹ This new empire, revived after more than three hundred years, was not a part of the united Roman Empire as the earlier Western Empire had been. Charlemagne and his successors did not co-operate with the Eastern emperor and did not consider the two rulers colleagues. The insignia of the empire, the method of election, everything was different.

Having broken with the theory of the continuation of the Roman Empire, Bruni was free to break also with the tradition of continuous decline. That he saw an end to the decline and a decided turning point

²⁷ *Hist. Flor. pop.*, p. 15.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 22.

²⁹ "Romanum imperium a populo romano institutum atque perfectum est" (*ibid.*, p. 22). "Occupantibus deinde Italiam barbaris, occidentale cessavit imperium: nec post Augustulum illum, quem ab Odoacre deiectum ostendimus, quisquam, ne tyrannice quidem, per Italiam et Occidentem id nomen suscepit usque ad Carolum Magnum, quem a Leone pontifice imperatorem diximus appellatum" (*ibid.*, p. 23).

in the history of Italy after the breakup of the Carolingian Empire is made clear by a significant passage following his discussion of Charlemagne. Here he notes that after the *imperium* departed into Germany and when few of the emperors kept a permanent residence in Italy, visiting the country only for brief campaigns, the cities of Italy gradually began to be mindful of their freedom and to think less of the imperial authority. Thereupon such cities throughout Italy as had survived the various barbarian floods began to grow and flourish and return to their original power.³⁰ He then goes on to note the Tuscan cities that had survived or were now refounded. The dark period during which many great cities had perished was now past, and for Tuscany he evidently felt that that unhappy period extended back to the very beginning of the Roman domination, an idea that would have shocked Petrarch's Roman patriotism.³¹ From this point on Bruni's history is the story of the growth of the Italian cities and their struggle for freedom until, with the collapse of the Hohenstaufen empire, he returns more specifically to the history of the Florentine state. His interpretation of the struggle between the papal and imperial factions, which divided the Italian cities, carries out his major thesis. The Guelf faction was made up of those who loved liberty and regarded the domination of Italy by German barbarians, "sub praetextu romani nominis", as shameful, while the Ghibellines were those who were so attached to the imperial name and so forgetful of the liberties and glories of their ancestors that they preferred to bow to the foreigner.³²

Bruni's general conception of the Middle Ages was strongly re-enforced and given much more definite chronological limits in the *Historiarum ab inclinatione Romanorum imperii decades* of Flavio Biondo of Forlì, written between the years 1439 and 1453.³³ Though it

³⁰ "Postquam igitur in Germaniam imperium abiit, ac pauci ex iis in Italia statione continua, plurimi vero adventiciis, cum erat opus, exercitibus ad tempus morabantur, civitates Italiae paulatim ad libertatem respicere, ac imperium verbo magis quam facto confiteri coeperunt, Romamque ipsam et romanum nomen, veneratione potius antiquae potentiae quam presenti metu recognoscere; denique quotcumque ex variis barbarorum diluviis superfuerant urbes per Italiam, crescere atque florere et in pristinam auctoritatem sese attollere." *Ibid.*, p. 23.

³¹ "Sed in Etruria quidem, a primis illis Romanorum bellis usque ad haec tempora, civitates multae, oppidaque magna, quorum prius fuerat auctoritas, interierant." *Ibid.*, pp. 23 f.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 25.

³³ First printed at Venice in 1483. The following quotations are from the Froben edition of Biondo's works (Basle, 1531). For an excellent life of Biondo and a discussion of his writings see *Scritti inediti e rari di Biondo Flavio*, with an introduction by Bartolomeo Nogara (Rome, 1927).

contains decided evidence of Bruni's influence,³⁴ the *Decades* represents a distinct departure from the popular type of state history that originated with the *Historiarum Florentini populi libri xii* and is the only history written during the fifteenth century that can compare with it in originality or influence. It is a careful, critical work, based on the best and oldest sources obtainable, covering the history of all Italy with a running commentary on the Eastern Empire, and as such it was the first, though by no means the last, of its kind. Indeed, with its plenitude of definite dates, its factual treatment of events, and its incredibly heavy style, it is unhappily reminiscent of innumerable history texts "from the fall of Rome to the present". The humanists damned Biondo with faint praise because of his hopelessly unclassical style, but they paid him the sincere compliment of plagiarizing his work more extensively than that of any other historian.³⁵ "Procul Blondus ab eloquentia prisca fuit", wrote Aeneas Silvius at the time of Biondo's death, and could think of no more to say of his history than that it was "opus certe laboriosum et utile, verum expolitore emendatoreque dignum".³⁶ Nevertheless, the humanist pope thought it worth his while to assume the role of "expolitor emendatorque" and wrote a full résumé of a large part of the *Decades*.³⁷

Biondo's work, unlike the state histories written by the majority of the humanists, was not instigated by official patronage. He was led to undertake it by a sincere, if somewhat antiquarian, love of all evidences of the Italian past. He had a profound admiration for the ancient Roman civilization and a stronger feeling for the empire than had the republican Bruni, but he had also a genuine affection for the later centuries, as is amply demonstrated in his *Italia illustrata* and *Roma instaurata*. Moreover, the Middle Ages presented the irresistible appeal of a virgin field. As he explains in the opening sentences of the *Decades*, the period of Rome's growth and power have been celebrated by many good historians, but the age that followed the beginning of her decline is shrouded in darkness. It is his purpose, therefore, to restore to the light the history of the thousand and thirty years following the sack of Rome by the Goths in 412 (*recte* 410). When he wrote this introduction

³⁴ Joachimsen, p. 22.

³⁵ Fueter, pp. 16, 109.

³⁶ Quoted by Nogara from the *Comentarii* of Aeneas Silvius (Frankfort, 1614), p. 310, in *Scritti rari e inediti di Biondo Flavio*, p. cxi.

³⁷ *Aeneae Sylvii Pii Pontificis Max. supra Decades Bl. ab inclinatione imperii usque ad tempora Joannis vicesimi tertii Pont. Max. Epitome*, in the Basle edition of Aeneas Silvius's *Opera* (1551), pp. 144-281.

he had, as a matter of fact, already completed the history of the final thirty years (1412-42) in twelve books, which in the finished work form the third decade and the beginning of a fourth.³⁸ The first two decades, then, are devoted to the even thousand years between the decline of Rome and what he regarded as contemporary history, *i.e.*, to the Middle Ages, though he did not, of course, use that term. The first decade ends with the war of Pepin against the Lombards in 752, a well-chosen turning point in Italian history.

This definite chronological scheme is one of the most significant features of Biondo's history. His insistence on the date 412 for the beginning of Rome's decline drew a sharp line between the period of ancient history and that which followed. Throughout the first decade he dates events from that year, and in the introduction he justifies his position in a lengthy argument against the opinion of those who, like Bruni, thought that the decline of Rome began with the emperors and those who would date it from the removal of the capital to Constantinople. The empire, he argues, continued to grow in power or, at least, to hold its own till the time of Theodosius the Great. Whatever the underlying causes of weakness, the actual decline began with the sack of Rome.³⁹ This emphasis on an external, if dramatic, event may indicate a more superficial view of history than that of Bruni, but it made a lasting impression simply because it was definite and hence memorable.

The continued decline and the desolation of Italy through the barbarian invasions is the major theme of the first decade. But Biondo's picture of the whole medieval period is not one of "Verfall bis nahe an die Gegenwart", as Karl Brandi described it.⁴⁰ With the coming of Charlemagne and the end of the Lombard wars, at the beginning of the second decade, the tone gradually changes.⁴¹ The lamentations over the destruction of Rome's grandeur disappear, and he begins to date events by the conventional *anno salutis* rather than the *anno inclinationis Romanorum imperii* commonly used in the first decade.

Save for the significant division between the first two decades at the year 752, the turning point in medieval history at which the period of

³⁸ The second book of the fourth decade remained in manuscript and was first published in the *Scritti inediti e rari* (pp. 1-28).

³⁹ "Ipsam itaque imperii inclinationem, sive ob praedictas omnes causas, sive ob earum aliquam sit facta, dicimus principium habuisse a Gothorum in urbem Romam irruptione." *Decades*, p. 4.

⁴⁰ P. 6; see Joachimsmen, p. 24, for similar comment.

⁴¹ Borinski, *Sitz. Bayerischen Akad.*, I, 107, notes that in the *Roma instaurata* he seems to end the idea of decline with the end of the Lombard wars.

decline ends and the rise of modern Italy begins is indicated only in the general tenor of the narrative, without benefit of editorial comment. But that Biondo was aware of new developments that would in time compensate for the destruction of the Roman Empire had already been clearly shown in one of his rare bits of theoretical generalization at the beginning of Decade I, Book 3. This passage is the clearest statement of his view of Italian history, though it has apparently been missed by all the critics who have analyzed his historical thought. The preceding book had ended with the abdication of Romulus Augustulus, the last emperor of Roman race. This "abominable" event, he says, recalls the memory of those indignities which had long restrained him from writing, for shame had almost deterred him when he contemplated beginning his history with the decline, or rather the destruction, of the Roman Empire. It galled him to repeat the injuries to his country and ancestors. But the hope held before him of narrating the origin of new cities and most distinguished peoples, whose excellence has restored the Roman dignity of Italy, gave him heart so that he could write without any feeling of shame. He then lists the cities that grew great through God's special kindness to Italy, by whose wealth and the vigor of their inhabitants the dignity and glory of Italy exist once more. And this, he felt, resulted directly from the decline of the city of Rome. For, he continues, it is clear that, as Rome diminished, the strength of Italy in cities increased, since the neighboring greatness of the capital had prevented older cities from growing and new ones from being founded. The burden of his argument is that Rome had monopolized the wealth and energy of Italy. But when it ceased to dominate, its decline permitted the growth of other cities which its rising power had prevented.⁴² One is reminded of Brunì's thesis. Again the implication that the fall of Rome was not an unrelieved disaster and the proud awareness of the rising power of Italy through her cities, once they were free to work out their own salvation. Biondo was in full agreement with his Florentine friend on these points, though he departed from his interpretation of the causes of Rome's decline and blamed the city rather than the empire for the subservience of the old Italian cities.

In Biondo's view, then, the revival of Italy began far back in the medieval period. He gives no indication of seeing a Renaissance at the end of the Middle Ages. There is, however, in the neat chronological organization of his work and in the introduction to the third decade,

⁴² "Quamprimum vero inclinare et cessare coepit dominae urbis potentia, dedit permisitque eius imminutio, quod abstulerat prohibueratque incrementum." *Decades*, pp. 30 f.

where he rejoices at having completed the history of the thousand years from 412 to 1412 and looks forward to an easier course through the events of his own times, a faint suggestion that he regarded those thousand years as forming a historical epoch in some way distinct from contemporary history.⁴³ It is difficult to say how much of this was the result of a preconceived historical pattern. The work on the thirty years from 1412 to 1442 was written first, so that the introduction to Decade III must have been an afterthought. And so far as that thousand year period is given any definite characterization, it is only as the period following the decline of Rome, during which there was no good history written. In the contemporary period the author does not have to depend in the same way on unsatisfactory histories since the events fall within the memory of living man. This is an obvious distinction and one that made little impression on his contemporaries, though it may have helped to set the idea of a thousand-year Middle Age for later historians at a time when the year 1412 no longer introduced contemporary history.

Bruni and Biondo were, each in his own way, the pioneers of humanist historiography. The other humanist historians of Italy followed faithfully in their footsteps, imitating the style and method of Bruni and borrowing material, often without acknowledgment, from Biondo. Even Machiavelli followed the traditional pattern fairly closely in his *Istorie fiorentine*, completed in 1525, adding to the earlier interpretation of the Middle Ages only his keen analysis of the part played by political factions, the papacy, and the condottieri in dividing and weakening Italy.⁴⁴ The great majority of the humanists outside of Florence wrote at the command of state governments and had a more personal interest in the literary style of their work than in its content. But if they were not the most thoughtful of historians, their work as a whole served to re-enforce the patriotic interpretation and untheological periodization of history set forth by Bruni and Biondo. The task of glorifying the history of the Italian states forced upon them the necessity of beginning with the early Middle Ages. Consciously or unconsciously,

⁴³ "Laetanti iam mihi et exultanti non obscuram magis quam sepultam mille annorum historiam viginti librorum voluminibus in lucem, certumque ordinem reduxisse, et faciliore cursu per notissima aetatis nostrae gesta procedere meditati . . ." *Decades*, p. 393. This is perhaps worth noting only in view of the positive statements of Lehmann (p. 5) and Joachimsen (pp. 24 f.) that he gives no suggestion of a periodic break between contemporary and earlier history.

⁴⁴ He begins with the barbarian invasions, devoting four of the eight books to the period "from the decline of the Roman Empire" (see preface) to the accession of the Medici in 1434. The first book, which deals with general Italian history, leans heavily on Biondo. See Fueter, pp. 62 and 69.

they treated the period after the decline of Rome as a new historical epoch and one not of unbroken decline but of active growth from the time when the Italian cities began to recover from Roman domination and barbarian invasion.

The extent, however, to which the new view of history was accepted by the humanists as an independent theory and not merely as a necessary attribute of Italian state histories is demonstrated most clearly in the *Rapsodie historiarum enneadum ab orbe condito ad annum salutis humane 1504* of Marcantonio Coccio, called Sabellicus.⁴⁵ It is the one essay on universal history arising from Italian humanism and as such is the exception that proves the rule. Sabellicus wrote under the patronage of the Venetian government and had previously published a history of the republic entitled *Rerum Venetarum ab urbe condita libri xxxiii*. Here he followed the customary pattern of state history, imitating Bruni in style and treatment and for his material borrowing from Biondo to the point of plagiarism.⁴⁶ In the *Rapsodie* he undertook the more original and ambitious task of applying the method of humanist historiography to the history of the world since the creation, a field hitherto monopolized by the theologians. Though distinctly pious, Sabellicus broke completely with the traditions of the ecclesiastical world chronicle. His treatment of ancient history, whether sacred or profane, is free from theological interpretation. He follows a strictly chronological sequence throughout, completely ignoring the doctrine of the Four Monarchies.⁴⁷

The whole work is divided, rather arbitrarily, into eleven *enneades* (groups of nine books), but with some reason wherever possible for the division. The sixth ennead, for example, ends with the establishment of peace by Augustus, the seventh opening with the birth of Christ. The most decisive periodic break, however, comes between the seventh and eighth enneads, the former ending with the sack of Rome in 412 (following Biondo's date), the latter beginning with the foundation of Venice. Having completed the seventh ennead, and with it ancient history, Sabellicus decided to publish, leaving the second part of the work dealing with more modern history to be written and published later, "si

⁴⁵ First published in Venice in 1498-1504, later by Badius Ascensius, in Paris, in three volumes in 1509 and again 1516-17; also in Lyons in 1535. I have used the 1509 edition.

⁴⁶ For his dependence on Biondo's *Decades* see R. Bersi in *Nuovo Archivio Veneto*, XIX (1910), 435-60; XX (1910), 151-62; for his general adherence to Bruni's school see Fueter, p. 32.

⁴⁷ *Rapsodie*, *Enn.* II, *lib.* 5, f. ci^v ff.

tamdiu superesset vita". That he regarded this as an obvious place to break off the work is indicated in both the dedicatory letter to the Venetian government and the added *epistola apologetica*, in which he explains his reasons for publishing before the work was finished. In both he emphasizes the fact that the part he is publishing separately includes the whole period from the creation of the world to the decline of the Roman Empire.⁴⁸ There is a further indication that he regarded the second part of his work as dealing with a new historical period in the fact, duly noted in his dedication to the Venetian government, that it begins with the founding of Venice. The central theme of this second part, which in the 1509 edition is published as Tom. III with the title, *Enneadum . . . ab inclinatione romani imperii usque ad annum 1504*, is the rising power of Venice and the other Italian cities. Biondo's *Decades* are obviously his chief source. In the preface to Ennead VIII he presents an interesting little essay on the causes of the decline of Rome, which is in effect a summary of Bruni's theory of the fatal results of the imperial despotism.⁴⁹ But though his republican sympathies led him to accept Bruni's theory, convenience or custom or Venetian patriotism dictated his adoption of Biondo's chronological scheme.

II

As has been illustrated in the foregoing discussion, the Italian humanists created a fairly definite pattern for the history of Italy and the Italian states from the decline of Rome to their own time. It was a pattern admirably designed to serve the secular, political interests, the state patriotism and embryonic national consciousness of the Renaissance Italian, but it suffered from one serious weakness. It excluded from consideration the developments in literature, learning, and art, which so keenly interested the men of the Quattrocento and which contributed in no small degree to both local and national patriotic pride. The omission of these from their formal histories was the price paid by the humanist historians for the otherwise valuable guidance of their classical models, the purely political historians of antiquity. For the

⁴⁸ "Sunt quae nunc vestro nomini inscribuntur, Enneades septem . . . quibus a prima mundi origine ad Romanorum imperii inclinationem, in quae tempora auspicatissimus vestrae urbis ortus incidit." *Rapsodie*, Tom. I, *Praefatio*; compare his description of the work to this point in the *epistola apologetica*, at the end of Tom. II in the 1509 ed.: "quibus sum omnium res gentium complexus, a primordio mundi ad Arcadii et Honorii tempora. His enim imperantibus, Roma direpta a Gothis et incensa, labefactari coepit Ro. Imperium. . . ." Tom. II, f. ccxxv.

⁴⁹ *Rapsodie*, Tom. III, f. 1.

history of literature and art they were forced to utilize other forms, less well adapted to the purpose. One of the most common was the biography or collection of biographies of writers and artists.⁵⁰ These were satisfactory in individual instances, but they provided little opportunity for connected narrative or treatment of development over a long period. For coherent accounts of the humanist conception of cultural history from antiquity to their own age we are forced to depend on brief essays, inserted into the midst of biographies, prefaces, or works on allied subjects.

The general picture of the past and present that these historical essays present is in many respects similar to that portrayed in the political histories, but there are also significant differences. As in the political histories, the decline of Rome is an epoch-making event, marking the end of the period of antiquity. Italian cultural history, as distinct from the Roman, begins after the decline. There is first an age of degradation under the barbarians, then a great revival culminating in the writer's own generation. But in the history of culture the period of darkness appears to be much longer than in the political story, and the revival more recent and more sudden, also more clearly the work of certain individual men. Both forms presented those aspects of Italian history which interested the educated class in Italy and appealed to their patriotic pride. The political history of the medieval communes appealed to both secular interest and local patriotism. The fact that the history of medieval culture was so largely ignored suggests that it appealed neither to the interest of the educated laymen in the secular and urban society of Renaissance Italy nor to their national or local patriotism. The best of medieval culture was either feudal or ecclesiastical, and in neither case Italian. It came mostly from north of the Alps and was, therefore, barbarous by definition.

The humanists' conception of a comparatively recent and rapid rise in Italian culture contains a suggestion of the modern Renaissance idea, which was lacking in their political history. The metaphor of rebirth in the literal sense of the word is rare, but there is general agreement that for a long period letters and art had been dead and had since taken on a new and vigorous life. In the case of Latin and Greek literature, and to a much lesser degree of art, the excellence of the new forms is judged by the standard of resemblance to the ancient style. But the chief emphasis is placed on the creative activity of modern Italians. The general

⁵⁰ Fueter, pp. 93 ff.

tone of all accounts is markedly similar, though there is a good deal of variation within the general scheme, depending on the subject discussed, the author's interests, and the date of composition. Both the prevailing tone and the individual variations may best be shown by summaries or quotations.

The pioneer essay on the decline of ancient culture, the medieval *lacuna*, and the recent revival is to be found in the first of those collections of biographies of writers and artists that served the humanists as a substitute for cultural history. The *Liber de civitatis Florentiae famosis civibus* of Filippo Villani, 1382 (?),⁵¹ contains the biographies of thirty-five famous Florentines, mostly poets, scholars, and painters. It opens with the poets, first Claudian, then Dante, followed by Petrarch, Boccaccio, and others. To explain the absence of representatives from the nine centuries between Claudian and Dante, the author inserts as a preface to the life of Dante a brief but illuminating sketch of literary history from the decline of Rome. Since he is writing about famous Florentine citizens, it is natural that Villani should exclude those medieval writers who had not the good fortune to be born in Florence. However, that is not the reason he gives. His argument is simply that after Claudian, who was almost the last poet of the ancient times, all poetry decayed, due to the weakness and avarice of the emperors, and also because it was no longer prized, since the Catholic faith began to hold the product of poetic imagination in abhorrence as a pernicious and a vain thing. So poetry lay dead, without honor or dignity, until Dante recalled it as from an abyss of shadows to the light and, giving the fallen art his hand, set it upon its feet.⁵² This vivid if somewhat mixed metaphor indicates a sudden and recent revival of letters but certainly not a rebirth of the antique literature. The emphasis on Christian antagonism to poetic imagination as a cause of the decline is interesting. Villani returns to it again in explaining Dante's success in reviving poetry. Dante, he says, had reconciled poetry with moral and natural philosophy and with Christian literature and had shown that the ancient poets were divinely inspired to prophesy the Christian mysteries, thus making poetry pleasing not only to the learned but also to the common and uneducated, of whom, he adds, the number is infinite.

⁵¹ So in Fueter, p. 94; for the suggestion that it may have been composed as much as twenty years later see Philippi, p. 12.

⁵² "Ea igitur iacente sine cultu, sine decore, vir maximus Dantes Allagherii, quasi ex abyssso tenebrarum eruptam revocavit in lucem, dataque manu, iacentem erexit in pedes." G. C. Galletti, ed. (Florence, 1847), p. 8.

In a later chapter Villani turns to the Florentine painters, "qui artem exanguem et pene extinctam suscitaverunt".⁵³ He gives credit for the first step in the revival of painting to Cimabue, and it is significant that he makes Cimabue's service consist not in imitating the ancients but in the skill and intelligence with which he recalled painting to natural similitude, from which it had long departed because of the childish ignorance of the older painters.⁵⁴ Before Cimabue, Greek (*i.e.*, Byzantine) and Latin painting had lain dead for many centuries because of the crude technique of the artists, as is plainly shown by the pictures in the churches. After him, Villani continues, the road to a new art was open, and Giotto, who not only can be compared to the illustrious painters of antiquity but surpassed them in skill and genius, restored painting to its ancient dignity and greatest fame.⁵⁵ Here again the great advance made by Giotto is ascribed to the closer resemblance to nature of his pictures, "ut vivere et anhelitum spirare contuentibus viderentur". It is clear that for Villani the revival of both poetry and painting after centuries of ignorance and neglect was an independent, spontaneous development, in which the sole motivating force was the genius of the great Florentine masters.

Villani's account of the revival of painting established a tradition that was followed, *mutatis mutandis*, for two centuries or more. The conception of literary history, however, was soon modified by the growing enthusiasm of the humanists for the ancient tongues to the prejudice of the *volgare*. This tendency is clearly visible in Leonardo Bruni's essay on the history of letters from Cicero to Petrarch, inserted in the second part of his *Vite di Dante e del Petrarca*, 1436.⁵⁶ Bruni admired Dante and took a patriotic satisfaction in the fame he had brought to Florence,⁵⁷ but his admiration was tempered by the fact that Dante excelled only in *rima volgare*, for no one in his generation could write good Latin prose or verse, "ma furono rozzi e grossi e senza perizia di

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 35.

⁵⁴ "Inter quos primus . . . Cimabue antiquatam picturam, et a naturae similitudine, pictorum inscitia pueriliter discrepantem, coepit ad naturae similitudinem, quasi lascivam et vagantem longius, arte et ingenio revocare." *Ibid.*

⁵⁵ "Post hunc, strata iam in novis via, Giottus non solum illustris famae decore antiquis pictoribus comparandus, sed art et ingenio praeferendus, in pristinam dignitatem nomenque maximum picturam restituit." *Ibid.*

⁵⁶ Published in Angelo Solerti, ed., *Autobiografie e vite de' maggiori scrittori italiani* (Milan, 1903), pp. 93-123.

⁵⁷ He gives this as his reason for writing the lives of Dante and Petrarch ("perocchè la notizia e la fama di questi due poeti grandemente riputo appartenere alla gloria della nostra città"), *ibid.*, p. 94.

lettere".⁵⁸ The true literary revival, that of classical Latin, he ascribed to Petrarch, who was the first to recall it to the light of knowledge after it had long been buried and ignored, after which it continued to rise ever higher.⁵⁹ It is to explain this situation that he turns to the history of Latin letters since the age of Cicero.

Bruni's story of the decline and revival of good literature runs closely parallel with his history of the decline of Rome and the later revival of the Italian free cities, as told in the *Historiarum Florentini populi libri xii*. Latin letters reached their highest peak of perfection, the result of a gradual development, in the time of Cicero, that is, at the end of the republic. Thereafter both Rome and her literature began to decline for the same reason, because the Roman people had lost their freedom under the tyrannous emperors. After a definite statement of this thesis,⁶⁰ he continues with a lengthy discussion of the decline as due to the oppressive acts of the individual emperors, which is almost a paraphrase of that in the *History*. It ends with a reiteration of his belief that Rome was destroyed by the tyrannous emperors and that letters declined with it until there was no one who understood Latin with any grace.⁶¹ Then came the Goths and Lombards, "nazioni barbare e strane", and completed the destruction of Latin literature.

The story of the literary revival in Italy, too, is almost a repetition of his account of the political revival, though the former is represented as being, at first, a more gradual movement. When the Italian people recovered their freedom after the expulsion of the Lombards, the cities of Tuscany and other parts of Italy began to revive and to pay attention to learning and the refinement of their gross style and so gradually recovered literary vigor. But this was a feeble development. The men of that age were without true taste, for they were given more to writing in Italian verse than in Latin, so that even in Dante's time there were few

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 109 and 123.

⁵⁹ "Ed ebbe tanta grazia d'intelletto che fu il primo che questi sublimi studi lungo tempo caduti ed ignorati rinvocò a luce di cognizione: i quali dapoi crescendo montati sono nella presente altezza." *Ibid.*, p. 115.

⁶⁰ "E puossi dire che le lettere e gli studi della lingua latina andassero parimente con lo stato della Repubblica di Roma, perocchè infino all' età di Tullio ebbe accrescimento; di poi, perduta la libertà del popolo romano per la signoria degl' imperadori, i quali non restarono d'uccidere e di disfare gli uomini di pregio, insieme col buono stato della città di Roma peri la buona disposizione degli studi e delle lettere." *Ibid.*, pp. 115 f.

⁶¹ "A che proposito si dice questo da me? Solo per dimostrare che come la città di Roma fu annichilata da gl' imperadori perversi tiranni, così gli studi e le lettere latine riceverono simile ruina e diminuzione, intanto che all' estremo quasi non si trovava chi lettere latine con alcuna gentilezza sapesse." *Ibid.*, p. 116.

who understood the "literary" style, and they but poorly. Petrarch, he repeats, was the first "che riconobbe e rivoçò in luce l'antica leggiadria dello stilo perduto e spento". And even Petrarch did not attain perfection, though he did accomplish enough through his study of Cicero to point the way for later writers.⁶² Here Bruni demonstrates again his awareness of the rise of Italian civilization through the rise of the cities from the early Middle Ages; but his appreciation of the literary aspects of the early development is dimmed, though not destroyed, by his classical prejudices. The evolution of the *rima volgare* and of learning "al modo fratesco scolastico"⁶³ could not altogether compensate for the lack of classical style. Later he added an appendix, as it were, to this sketch of the literary revival in his *Rerum suo tempore gestarum commentarius*, where he tells with vast enthusiasm how Chrysoloras brought back Greek to Italy after it had been forgotten there for seven hundred years.⁶⁴

The general conception of the relative cultural darkness of a large part of the Middle Ages and of a fairly recent revival owing to the genius of certain great Italian masters was by this time pretty well fixed. There was still, however, some variation as to the date and the authors of the new movement. At just about the time that Bruni was writing the *Vite di Dante e del Petrarca*, another Florentine humanist, Matteo Palmieri, included a little essay on the cultural revival in Italy in his treatise *Della vita civile*. Here he asserts that the neglect of letters and all liberal studies had lasted for eight hundred years, and he credits the revival of good Latin, not to Petrarch, but to his friend Bruni, whom he describes as the father and ornament of letters, called into the world "come splendido lume della eleganzia latina, per rendere a gli uomini la dolcezza della latina lingua".⁶⁵ This is obvious flattery of a famous fellow citizen, but we have Vespasiano's evidence (see below) that the crediting of the classical revival to the work of contemporary Florentines was not unusual in Palmieri's circle. In his discussion of the fine arts, however, Palmieri returns to the more conventional chronology, though

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 117.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 110.

⁶⁴ *Commentarius*, ed. by Carmine di Pierro, in Muratori, Vol. XIX, pt. 3 (1926), p. 431. See also Bruni's preface to his translation of Plato's *Phaedrus*: "Chrysoloras Byzantinus, vir magnus quidem ac prope singularis, disciplinam Graecarum litterarum in Italiam rettulit, quarum cognitio, quae quidem liberaliter erudita foret, septingentos iam annos nulla nostros apud homines habebatur . . ." Baron, ed., *Bruni's humanistisch-philosophische Schriften*, p. 125.

⁶⁵ (Milan, 1825), p. 47.

with an interestingly original approach. He attributes the lack of progress in the earlier period to the weight of tradition, which caused men to be satisfied to do just as their fathers had done, so that the noble arts fell into a dishonored and sterile condition for many centuries. But later, whether through grace or industry or continuous diligence, the lost art was raised up again.⁶⁶ The reason for this, he continues, was that good masters began to teach, and their disciples profited by good teaching to become better, just as before the revival of art ("innanzi il rilevare dell'arti") those badly taught became worse. Thus, before Giotto, painting was dead but since has become excellent through his work and that of his disciples.⁶⁷ The same holds for architecture and sculpture, which were backward for a long time, but "in our time" have been raised up, returned to the light, and made perfect by good masters.⁶⁸

The most complete historical account of the classical revival, together with a sketch of literary history since antiquity, appeared a few years after this in Biondo's *Italia illustrata*, written between the years 1448 and 1453. In accordance with ancient tradition Biondo had ignored the history of culture in his *Decades* save as the necessity of discussing his sources suggested it. Thus, in his introduction to the *Decades*, he bewailed the lack of good histories from the age of Orosius to his own time and attributed that lack to the general cultural decadence which accompanied the political decline of the Roman people.⁶⁹ Later he noted the medieval ignorance of Greek, which prevented writers of that period from using the Greek sources.⁷⁰ In the *Italia illustrata*, however, he felt free to include the literary revival in his general celebration of Italy and her achievements. The subject was suggested, in the midst of his description of Ravenna, by the fame of John of Ravenna (Giovanni Malpaghini, 1346-1417), whom he cites on the authority of Bruni as the first to restore the present flourishing study of eloquence to Italy.⁷¹

Biondo follows the general consensus of humanist opinion in con-

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 46: "poi, o per grazia, o per industria, o per coninuata diligenza, nascere chi l'arte perduta rileva".

⁶⁷ "Di quinci veggiamo innanzi a Giotto la pittura morta." *Ibid.*

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 47: "in enlla età nostra si sono rilevate, tornate in luce, e da più maestri pulitesi e fatte perfette".

⁶⁹ *Decades* (Basle, 1531), p. 4: "cum praepotentis populi gloriae ruina factus est, bonarum artium interitu . . ." See a similar discussion in the preface to *Italia illustrata* (Basle, 1531), p. 293.

⁷⁰ *Decades*, I, lib. 4.

⁷¹ P. 346.

necting the literary with the political decline of Rome, but here, as in the *Decades*, he departs from Bruni's chronology by dating both from the early fifth century rather than from the fall of the republic. There were few or almost none, he says, who wrote Latin with any elegance whatsoever after the doctors of the church, Ambrose, Jerome, and Augustine, who lived in the time of the decline of the Roman Empire, unless one might include among the writers St. Gregory and the Venerable Bede, who were near that same time, and, much later, the blessed Bernard.⁷² The inclusion of the Fathers among the ancient writers and the honorable mention accorded to Bede and St. Bernard is interesting, as is his failure to mention Dante and the rise of Italian poetry. From Bernard he goes straight to Petrarch, who, he says, was the first to begin the awakening of poetry and eloquence. Like Bruni, however, he refuses to credit Petrarch with attaining the full flower of Ciceronian eloquence, and he adds the shrewd observation that for this we must blame Petrarch's lack of books rather than of intelligence. After discussing the limited number and poor quality of the Ciceronian works at Petrarch's disposal, Biondo continues the story of the revival of ancient literature with the teaching of John of Ravenna and Emanuel Chrysoloras and an imposing list of the men who gained from these two masters a love of Ciceronian style and of Greek letters. Then follows an account, too long for summary here, of the search for old manuscripts at the Council of Constance and elsewhere, of the founding of new classical schools like those of Vittorino and Guarino, and of the work of a fairly complete list of the more distinguished Italian humanists of the first half of the fifteenth century. It is a remarkable survey of the contemporary humanist movement, showing a proud consciousness of the advances made since the generation of Petrarch.

Biondo was almost unique in his feeling for Italy as a whole. Most of the fifteenth century writers tended rather to stress achievements of their own native cities. Thus Jacopo Filippo Foresti of Bergamo in his *Supplementum chronicarum* hails Gasparino da Barzizza, also of Bergamo, as one of the principal founders of the revival of letters, though he follows Biondo in ascribing the original initiative to Petrarch.⁷³ The Florentines were especially inclined, and with good reason, to this form of civic patriotism. We have already noted it in Villani, Bruni, and Palmieri. We may observe it again in the comments of Vespasiano da Bis-

⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 346.

⁷³ Venice, 1483, pt. 1, f. 80^v and 143^v; see Joachimsen, p. 84.

ticci. He was not himself a distinguished humanist, but he knew many who were, and his opinions may be taken as a fairly accurate echo of the learned world of fifteenth century Florence. In his *Vite di uomini illustri del secolo xv* he presents the lives of distinguished men from all parts of Italy, but the position of leadership in the revival of letters is invariably ascribed to his fellow citizens. Of the writers prior to the fifteenth century he mentions Dante, whom he describes as the first writer in Florence since the foundation of the city, and also Petrarch and Boccaccio, but these are noted only in passing as outside the province of his book.⁷⁴ The contemporary writers with whom he deals are the classical humanists. And the founders of humanism are all Florentine. Writing of Fra Ambrogio Traversari, he recalls that "it was firmly held by all men of learning that Fra Ambrogio and Messer Lionardo [Bruni] had revived the Latin tongue which had been dead and buried for a thousand years or more", and he adds that "although Petrarch did much to revive Latin he never approached these two".⁷⁵ Later he includes Poggio among the founders. "The city itself and all who had the Latin tongue were under great obligation to him, to Messer Lionardo, and Fra Ambrogio, the first exponents of Latin, which had lain obscure and neglected for so many centuries. Thus Florence found itself, in this golden age, full of learned men."⁷⁶ Even the philosophers were not exempt from the conviction that their own city was the exclusive creator of the new cultural life. Marsilio Ficino wrote: "It is undoubtedly a golden age which has restored to the light the liberal arts that had almost been destroyed: grammar, poetry, eloquence, painting, architecture, sculpture, music. And that all in Florence."⁷⁷ Again a few years later the sentiment of the bookseller and the Platonist was echoed by Machiavelli in the conclusion to his treatise *Dell'arte della guerra*, addressed to the youth of Florence: "And let me conjure you not to despair of success, since this province seems destined to revive arts which seemed long since dead, as we see it has already raised poetry, painting, and sculpture, as it were, from the grave."⁷⁸

Expressions of pride in the literary accomplishments of their own generation and in the new cultural life of their age in general, as con-

⁷⁴ *The Vespasiano Memoirs*, trans. by William George and Emily Waters (New York, 1926), p. 14.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 211.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 356.

⁷⁷ Quoted from Nordström, p. 18.

⁷⁸ Eng. trans. (Albany, 1815), p. 284.

trasted with the darkness and inactivity of the Middle Ages, could be culled from the works of many of the Quattrocento humanists. For the most part they are merely statements of the humanist credo that literature and the arts were dead and now live again, offered without the qualifications or the feeling for historical continuity that characterized the essays of men like Bruni and Biondo, who had worked in medieval history. We may let one example suffice, that in Lorenzo Valla's preface to his *De linguae Latinae elegantia* (1444), which has justly been called a manifesto of humanism.⁷⁹ His description of the complete ignorance of Latin since the decline of Rome is absolutely unqualified.⁸⁰ It is presented as an article of faith with no attempt at historical justification. He refuses, indeed, to venture any explanation of why it should have happened any more than why the kindred arts of painting, sculpture, and architecture, like letters, degenerated and died, nor why they are now raised up and live again.⁸¹ But, he concludes, the more unhappy those earlier times were, the more to be congratulated is the present age in which, he believes, the Roman tongue will live again and with it all disciplines will be restored.

The humanists, as men of letters, naturally have more to say about the revival of literature, and particularly of the ancient languages, than about the fine arts. As the foregoing references show, however, they were not unaware of the great development of the arts in their age. But for more detailed and critical history of the artistic revival one must turn to the artists themselves, many of whom left records of their own activity and of that of their predecessors and contemporaries. A survey of their conceptions of the course of the arts through the Middle Ages and the recent revival can be found in the first seven chapters of Adolf Philippi's monograph, *Der Begriff der Renaissance*.⁸² It need not be duplicated in detail here.

In the main the Quattrocentist view of the history of art follows the

⁷⁹ Huizinga, p. 92.

⁸⁰ "Siquidem multis iam seculis non modo Latine nemo locutus est, sed ne Latina quidem legens intellexit: non philosophiae studiosi philosophos, non causicidi oratores, non legulei iureconsultos, non caeteri lectores veterum libros perceptos habuerunt, aut habent: quasi amisso Romano imperio, non deceat Romane aut loqui aut sapere, fulgorem illum Latinitatis situ, ac rubigine passi obolescere." *De linguae Latinae elegantia* (Lyons, 1538), p. 8.

⁸¹ "Non magis quam cur illae artes quae proxime ad liberales accedunt, pingendi, scalpendi, fingendi, architectandi, aut tamdiu tantoque opere degeneraverint ac paene cum literis ipsis demortuae fuerint, aut hoc tempore excitentur ac reviviscant: tantusque tum bonorum opificum, tum bene litteratorum proventus efflorescat." *Ibid.*

⁸² (Leipzig, 1912), pp. 1-64.

same broad outlines as that of literature. Knowing little and caring less about the work of medieval artists beyond the Alps, it concentrates on the arts as practiced in Italy and especially in Florence. Ghiberti amplified the brief account of Filippo Villani⁸³: ancient art declined in the age of Constantine; then followed six hundred years devoid of all art until the Byzantines introduced the awkward *maniera Greca*; finally came the revival of natural painting with the masterful work of Cimabue and Giotto. But, as in the history of letters, there were those who regarded the revival of the arts as dating only from their own generation. Leo Battista Alberti ascribed the founding of the new arts to his contemporaries, Brunelleschi, Donatello, Ghiberti, Luca della Robbia, and others.⁸⁴ These he thought equal to the ancients, if not greater in genius, since they had produced so much beauty without teachers or models. Alberti evidently regarded the revival as the independent work of modern Italians rather than as a mere imitation of antiquity.⁸⁵ The place of Brunelleschi as the originator of a new style of architecture in contrast to the Gothic was reaffirmed by Filarete and others, though Cimabue and Giotto remained the conventional founders of the new painting.

The men of the Quattrocento, however, were too close to the new movement to see it in its entirety. The first complete and rationalized history of Italian art was written only after the Renaissance had passed its peak. In Giorgio Vasari's *Le vite de' più eccellenti architetti, pittori e scultori italiani da Cimabue insino a' tempi nostri* the revival of the fine arts in the age of Cimabue and Giotto was for the first time referred to as "the Renaissance" (*rinascita*), and the periodization of medieval and Renaissance art in schools was first given a definite historical form.⁸⁶ Vasari was a thorough classicist in taste but conscious also of the existence of medieval art, inferior though it was. He noted the beginning of an improvement after the period of Lombard domination and a still greater improvement in the early eleventh century.⁸⁷ But this early art was crude and stiff. Vasari classifies it under the derogatory names of *maniera Greca* (Byzantine) and *maniera Tedesca* (Gothic). The rina-

⁸³ *Comentarii*, II, sec. 1, 1452-55; see Philippi, pp. 15 ff.

⁸⁴ "Trattato della pittura", 1436, in *Kleinere kunsttheoretische Schriften*, ed. by Hubert Janitschek (Vienna, 1877), p. 49; see Philippi, pp. 25 ff.

⁸⁵ Brandi, p. 10, where he notes the significance of Alberti's phrase, "sanza praeceptori sanza exemplo alchuni", giving greater weight to it than does Philippi.

⁸⁶ (Torrentino, 1550); the most convenient English translation is in Everyman's Library.

⁸⁷ I, preface, pp. 14-15.

scita began with Cimabue and Giotto as the recovery of a more living likeness to nature. From the rebirth of the arts to his own time ("dalla rinascita di questi arti sino al secolo, che noi viviamo") he discerned three periods or manners, the first that of the founders, the second a greatly improved school in the fifteenth century, and finally the perfected style (*maniera moderna*), which began with Leonardo da Vinci.⁸⁸

The temptation to generalize in conclusion is irresistible, although there are dangers in any attempt to force the various individual opinions of the humanists into a single coherent scheme. Still, certain general tendencies have been noted and may be recapitulated with profit. The humanists whose works we have examined are in fairly general agreement that there was a decline of ancient civilization with the decline of Rome and that this decline led to a period of barbaric darkness, which in turn was followed by a revival of the Italian cities and, later, of Italian literature and art. Further, they are of one mind in ignoring almost all cultural and political development outside of Italy, as well as the most characteristic institutions and cultural contributions of the Middle Ages, such as the medieval empire, scholastic learning, feudal and ecclesiastical literature, and Gothic art. These things apparently held little interest for them. On the other hand, though they speak of revival in specific fields of political or cultural activity, there is no general agreement as to when these revivals occurred, nor is there in any account, save possibly in the most brief and vague statements concerning the new cultural life of contemporary Italy, the suggestion of a definite chronological period of general rebirth as contrasted with the preceding period. Individual writers assign different dates to the revival in different fields, the widest variation being, as a rule, that between the political and the literary or artistic revival. Moreover, there is little suggestion that the revival in general or in particular aspects of culture was a rebirth of antiquity, although the ancient classics were accepted as models for Latin and Greek style, and, in greatly diminishing degree, the ancient works of art set standards for architecture, sculpture, and painting. The Italian humanists thought of the civilization of their own day as a new and original creation, in many respects like that of antiquity but distinctly their own. It was, in all its aspects, the work of the Italian cities and their men of genius.

WALLACE K. FERGUSON.

New York University.

⁸⁸ Preface to Part II, *ibid.*, I, 202 ff.; see Philippi, pp. 53 ff.

FISHING AND PLANTATION

NEW ENGLAND IN THE PARLIAMENT OF 1621

A more complete understanding of the parliamentary controversy about fishing in American waters which followed the establishment of the Council for New England is made possible by the publication of parliamentary diaries for the year 1621.¹ Examination of this new material along with the sources used before leads one to the conclusion that the projects of the Council for New England were more feasible than has hitherto been believed.

Between 1607 and 1620 Sir Ferdinando Gorges, who was to be the prime mover in the Council for New England, had sent out voyages for fishing and exploration. He had discovered that the winter fishing off the New England coast might equal in productivity the well-established Newfoundland fisheries beside which it was as yet quite unimportant.² Gorges's aim was to base a regulated English colonization of New England on the staple product of that area, the codfish, and in 1620 he obtained a charter bestowing on a body (to be known as the Council for New England) possession of the American coast between 40° and 48°, north latitude. Extensive governmental as well as proprietary rights were conveyed to the council by the crown.³ The plan by which Gorges intended to base colonization on fishing is detailed in the records of the Merchant Venturers' Society of Bristol.⁴ The fishing ports of the West of England were invited to co-operate with the Council for New England in the development of the fisheries. Each port was to send a number of vessels under the control of a commission chosen by the "adventurers" within the town. There was to be a

¹ *Commons' Debates, 1621*, edited by Wallace Notestein, Frances Helen Relf, and Hartley Simpson (New Haven, 1935). I am grateful to Professor Notestein for allowing me to see his transcripts of later parliamentary diaries which bear on this subject.

² Charles Levi Woodbury, *The Relation of the Fisheries to the Discovery and Settlement of North America* (Boston, 1880), pp. 21-23. The comparative unimportance of the New England fishing before 1628 is illustrated on pages 33-34.

³ The Council for New England is discussed in Charles McLean Andrews, *The Colonial Period of American History*, Vol. I, ch. 16, "Gorges and his Projects for New England".

⁴ Archives of the Merchant Venturers' Society of Bristol, "Book of Trade, 1598-1693", ff. 105-109, Articles of the Council for New England. These articles and other pertinent excerpts from the "Book of Trade" are published in the *American Historical Review*, IV, 678-702, "Attempts toward Colonization: the Council for New England and the Merchant Venturers of Bristol, 1621-1623" by Miller Christy.

co-ordinating council meeting every six months at a central inland town, Tiverton, to regulate the share of each port in the trade. This complicated federal constitution Gorges knew from experience to be necessary. The mutual jealousy of the western towns had hitherto rendered co-operation between them impossible except in opposition to the metropolis. Gorges proposed that the tenth part of the first capital sum put to fishing voyages should be paid to the treasurer of the Council for New England and used "for the settling of the plantation".⁵ The western towns were to engage in fishing and trade, while the Council for New England directed government, defense, and colonization.

What was the origin and nature of the parliamentary opposition to Gorges's charter? The usual interpretation of historians has been that when the charter appeared on November 3, 1620, with the clause prohibiting fishing in American waters without authority from the council of patentees, a strong and almost national opposition to Sir Ferdinando and his schemes was aroused, which was able to express itself when parliament met early in 1621.⁶ Gorges's own statements are misleading in this direction.⁷ Though it is not clear from his account exactly which parliament he was discussing in the "Brief Narration", hitherto it has been assumed that his description of three appearances before a parliamentary committee referred to 1621, immediately after he had obtained the charter.⁸

The reader of the account in the "Brief Narration" cannot help being

⁵ Bristol "Book of Trade" f. 109. Miller Christy suggests erroneously that the work of colonization was to be left to the western towns and that "the company [the Council for New England] . . . did not intend to undertake trading or colonizing on its own account". *Am. Hist. Rev.*, IV, 685; cf. p. 689, where the "article" itself is printed.

⁶ Charles Deane, "The Council for New England", in Justin Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History of America* (Boston, 1884), Vol. III, pt. 2, pp. 298, 300; Herbert Levi Osgood, *The American Colonies in the Seventeenth Century* (London, 1904), I, 100, 101; Charles Burnet Judah, jr., "English Colonial Policy and the North American Fishing Industry, 1498-1713", *Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences* (Urbana, 1933), XVIII, 3. Ralph Greenlee Lounsbury suggests that the Bill for Free Fishing was an attack on Gorges. *The British Fishery at Newfoundland, 1634-1763* (New Haven, 1934), p. 50.

⁷ Sir Ferdinando Gorges, "Brief Narration", chs. 17-20, *Maine Historical Society Collections*, Ser. I, Vol. II (Portland, 1847), pp. 33-39; cf. Sir Ferdinando Gorges, "Brief Relation", in Henry S. Burrage, *Gorges and the Grant of the Province of Maine* (Maine, 1923), pp. 152-53.

⁸ Leo F. Stock includes the "Brief Narration" account of Gorges's appearances before the committee of grievances in one place, under the dates November 23-December 17, 1621, and February 27-March 15, 1623/4. In a footnote he points out that some of this report obviously refers to the 1624 parliament, but, for the sake of preserving the continuity of the excerpt, he has entered it all in his proceedings of the 1621 parliament. *Proceedings and Debates of the British Parliaments respecting North America* (4 vols.,

impressed by the fact that though Sir Ferdinando might have erred in one or two minor details he was correct in one major aspect of his story. He was writing of three sittings of the grievances committee which were quite distinct though closely connected. They make a composite whole, and they obviously belong to the same parliament. Careful examination, however, of the *Journals of the House of Commons* for 1621 and *Commons' Debates*, 1621, reveals to the reader that it is impossible that Gorges should have made the three appearances before a grievances committee between November 23 and December 17, 1621.⁹ There is no mention in any of the diaries of any such appearance, and the house of commons was concerned with other matters. There is only brief mention of the patent in the records of the grievances committee for November 30, when it was referred to a subcommittee for consideration on the following afternoon, Saturday, December 1.¹⁰ We do not know whether that subcommittee met. It certainly did not report back to the larger committee of the whole house for grievances, because that committee ceased meeting in the two following weeks, when the house of commons was greatly agitated about foreign affairs. It is quite impossible, then, to fit the supposed violent outburst against the charter of the Council for New England into a grievances committee of the 1621 parliament.

Internal evidence in the "Brief Narration" account suggests that Gorges was writing of the 1624 parliament. When he spoke of his son "at this present" in New England he could have referred only to the attempt at settlement made by Robert Gorges in 1623 and 1624. The fishing debates in the "last parliament", to which he called attention, were the controversial discussions of 1621 on the Bill for Free Fishing.¹¹

Washington, 1924-37), I, 50-54, 50 n. Other writers had taken it for granted that the account refers to the 1621 parliament and explained away as best they could references which would seem to fit more suitably into 1624. E.g., in *Maine Hist. Soc. Coll.*, II, 34, the date "1621" is inserted by the editors.

⁹ Gorges had appeared before a committee of the Bill for Free Fishing on May 2 in the earlier session of the 1621 parliament. It will be shown later that this was not connected with the attack on the charter as a grievance of the realm. *Commons' Debates*, 1621, V, 378-79; *Stock, Debates*, I, 37-38.

¹⁰ *Commons' Debates*, 1621, VI, 215-17, II, 482.

¹¹ Gorges, *Maine Hist. Soc. Coll.*, II, 35, 38. Gorges's reference to the nondelivery of the patent since the "last parliament" does not have to be explained away by making it mean the first session of the first parliament, as in Winsor, III, 299. The word "parliament" could never have been used in that way. Gorges was speaking in 1624 of the nondelivery of a new and amended patent to which Winsor himself makes reference. From a transcript of a diary of the 1624 parliament, the Gurney MSS., ff. 39-40, it is evident that this patent was still undelivered in 1624.

It is easy to fit the three appearances before the grievances committee into the debates for 1624 in the *Commons' Journals* and in diaries at present being edited by Professor Notestein and Mr. Simpson. Therefore, what Gorges has to say in the "Brief Narration" about the parliamentary dispute of 1624 cannot be regarded as proof of an immediate outburst of strong opposition to the Council for New England in 1621.

The idea that the Gorges council was attacked as soon as parliament met in 1621 is partly due to a confusion of two separate political maneuvers in that parliament. The first was the attempt in the opening session to obtain the passage of a general bill in favor of free fishing in American waters. The second was the denunciation, after the summer recess, of the charter of 1620 as a grievance of the realm. There is no evidence to show, however, that this specific attack went very far in 1621. There was no unanimous outcry against a national grievance. The opponents of Gorges could hardly obtain a hearing amidst the tumultuous debates on weighty subjects like the war with Spain and the defense of the Protestant religion.

Another misconception concerns the origin and leadership of the attack on Gorges in the 1621 parliament. Before the 1620 charter was issued opposition to his scheme had developed in the court of the Virginia Company, which regarded itself as being defrauded of its right to fish in the waters of the old Plymouth Company. The privy council had promised that an exception would be made in favor of the Virginia Company, but when that exception was not specifically written into the patent the older company thought that it had been duped. The assumption, then, has been that the dispute was carried from the company's court to the parliament called in 1621.¹² Sir Ferdinando himself said that he was threatened by the rival company with action in parliament;¹³ and the man who introduced the question of free fishing there was Sir Edwin Sandys, the treasurer of the Virginia Company.¹⁴ But these facts do not form sufficient basis on which to argue that the agitation for a bill to enforce freedom of fishing in all American waters was

¹² Andrews, I, 325; Judah, *Ill. Stud.*, XVIII, 3; Edward Channing, *History of the United States* (New York, 1928), I, 301.

¹³ Gorges, *Maine Hist. Soc. Coll.*, II, 34; "Brief Relation", Burrage, *Gorges and the Grant*, p. 152; cf. entry in the records of the Council for New England on the occasion of the surrender of the charter, *American Antiquarian Society Proceedings* (1867), p. 123.

¹⁴ *Commons' Journals*, I, 591, 593-94; *Commons' Debates*, III, 81-82, 81, n., V, 349, II, 320; Edward Nicholas, *Proceedings and Debates of the House of Commons*, edited by Thomas Tyrwhitt (Oxford, 1766), I, 318. Sandys was reporting from a subcommittee for the decay of money and moved the second reading of the Bill for Free Fishing at the conclusion of his report.

a specific attack on the charter of the Council for New England by the Virginia Company. There were much wider interests involved.

The whole situation of the American fisheries at this time must be taken into consideration, and especially the differences between those off Newfoundland and those off New England. The more northerly fisheries, known for over a century, had been frequented by men of many races and had gained a reputation for disorder, piracy, petty warfare, and bloodshed. Rude justice was provided by the court of the "Admiral", the captain of the first ship to arrive at each harbor at the beginning of the season. Up to 1610 all attempts to establish an English settlement on the island of Newfoundland and to impose law and order upon the fisheries had failed, mainly owing to the opposition of the fishermen themselves. But in that year a company representing merchants of London and Bristol had been formed to establish a colony in Newfoundland, to take part in the fishing, and, very possibly, to work for a monopoly of the whole trade. During the following decade the fishermen and the representatives of the company came into continual conflict about the right of colonists to occupy the best stages before the ships arrived from England, the alleged damage done to harbors by the fishermen who wantonly threw overboard waste and ballast, the destruction of timber, and the summoning of fishermen to courts on shore to answer for their alleged crimes while the season was at its height.¹⁵ All these subjects are to be found in the discussions about Sandys's Bill for Free Fishing in the first session of the 1621 parliament.

The New England fisheries, on the other hand, were still little known in 1620. They were much less frequented than the Newfoundland fisheries, and knowledge of them was based largely on the tales of a few fishermen and explorers, who combined the dramatic narrative abilities of both those classes of storytellers. Gosnold had caught cod off Cape Cod in 1602 and given it its famous name; and in the next few years several explorers spoke of the abundance of the fishing.¹⁶ But even by 1614 knowledge of the fishery was so limited that Captain John Smith was surprised to find that the season ended in mid-June.¹⁷ Smith

¹⁵ Lounsbury, pp. 24-46; *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial*, Vol. I (London, 1860), 1574-1660, pp. 20-21, 23; "Origin of Disputes between Resident Planters and Western Merchants, 1618-1620", in *The Matter of the Boundary between the Dominion of Canada and the Colony of Newfoundland* (London, 1927), Vol. IV of Joint Appendix, pp. 1717-18.

¹⁶ Henry S. Burrage, *Early English and French Voyages* (New York, 1906), pp. 330, 331, 345, 362, 363, 365, 378, 390, 390-91.

¹⁷ John Smith, "Description of New England", in *Travels and Works of Captain John Smith*, ed. by Edward Arber (2 vols., Edinburgh, 1910), I, 187.

was interested in the establishment of a fishing colony and went around England trying to drum up interest in his schemes but with little success. He records the number of ships which went in the following years on "free fishing" voyages, and the peak was reached in 1620 when six or seven fished off New England.¹⁸ The smallness of these numbers shows that in the years before Gorges's charter the free fishermen were not going to New England. The contrast between the importance of Newfoundland and the unimportance of New England to the fishing trade is illustrated by a letter from the customs officer at Plymouth, James Bagge, jr., to the lord treasurer. In 1621 "two hundred and fifty sail of ships, small and great . . . from these western parts" were sent forth to Newfoundland. Eleven ships had just returned from "Virginia" (*i.e.*, New England), where they had discovered "nice fishing places", and Bagge expected that more would go for the following season if there was no restraint "by those intending plantation". But as, according to his own statement, only fourteen ships were then being prepared, the comparative unimportance of the New England fishing is clearly shown.¹⁹

From this comparison of New England and Newfoundland in 1620 two significant facts emerge. The total number of fishing vessels that had gone to New England by 1620 was less than the average number that had gone annually to Newfoundland for a hundred years. More important still, the New England fishery was of much less actual value than that of Newfoundland. In 1621, therefore, any discussion about "American" fisheries probably meant to the majority of the members of the house the well-established industry of Newfoundland, and legislation would naturally be considered mainly as it affected this better-known and more important place.

When we come to consider the discussions about the Bill for Free Fishing introduced by Sandys, we find confirmation of the idea that it was intended to apply to Newfoundland rather than to New England. The men who supported Sandys were not his fellows of the Virginia Company as we would expect if the bill were simply the transference of the attack made on Gorges's patent in the Virginia Company court to a more potent sphere, the house of commons. Those who spoke after Sandys were the representatives of the western seaports and

¹⁸ "Generall Historie" and "Advertisements for the Unexperienced Planters", *ibid.*, II, 702, 940.

¹⁹ Oct. 16, 1621, Plymouth, Sackville Transcripts, Public Record Office.

of constituencies actively interested in the Newfoundland fishing trade.²⁰ Again, the complete freedom of fishing was hardly what a monopolistic corporation of the nature of the Virginia Company would wish, however much its representatives might profess themselves in its favor. The statement of the company that it hoped to find a fishing in its own waters which it would make free to all was just empty talk. Actually at that time the Virginia Company was still hoping to get its right to share in the waters of the northern company recognized by the privy council and by the Council for New England. We shall see that after its claims were admitted during the summer recess the company abstained from joining in the attack on Gorges's patent, which began when parliament reassembled.

The interest of Sandys, the treasurer of the Virginia Company, in the Bill for Free Fishing can easily be explained on other grounds. He did not introduce the bill because he was bringing it up from the Virginia Company court. He was interested in the Newfoundland fishing because it was a means of bringing bullion from Europe. A close examination of the *Commons' Debates, 1621*, and the *Journals* suggests that the bill actually grew out of the recommendations of a committee to examine the state of trade.²¹ Much more stimulus would be given to trade by aiding the prosperous fishery at Newfoundland than by attacking a charter which might detain a few ships at that time intending to go to New England. Moreover, the patents had been given by the crown, and the government was backing the companies as an indirect means of controlling the fishing industry. Sandys was a politician first and foremost, and his support of the free fishing bill was based to a great extent on its value as a source of embarrassment to the government and as a means of extending parliamentary control. So, though the Virginia Company in a pique may have lent some support to the free fishing bill, it is not correct to say that the bill was simply the opposition to the charter of the Council for New England transferred by Sandys from the court of his company to the house of commons.

²⁰ Of thirteen men who spoke either for the bill or against the Gorges patent in this parliament eight represented western constituencies, and three were from ports in other parts of the kingdom. On the government side, too, the majority (five out of seven) were west country representatives. The sixth, Gooch, was member for Cambridge University but had west country affiliations, and the seventh was the secretary of state, Calvert. The local nature of the question is thus emphasized. There were more members of the Virginia Company speaking against the bill than for it.

²¹ *Commons' Debates, 1621*, II, 139, n. 17, 320-21, III, 81, n. 31; *Commons' Journals*, I, 526-28, 578.

Examination of the arguments advanced in the course of the debate on the bill shows that most of the people who spoke were thinking of the case of Newfoundland and not of New England. Glanville asked for an amendment to direct some government over fishermen who spoiled havens. Neale referred specifically to the Newfoundland fishery and attacked the greed of the London merchants. He was thinking of the London and Bristol Company of 1610, and his speech demonstrates that this bill was part of that great "outport" attack on London which Miss Astrid Friis describes.²² Opposing the bill, Secretary Calvert spoke more generally but mentioned the unruliness of the fishermen who hindered plantation, a fact which can have been based only on occurrences in Newfoundland. And Guy, representing the Newfoundland Company, was agreeable to the bill provided it were amended to establish law and order and suppress piracy. Only Sandys brought in New England by name as a fishery recently discovered and better than Newfoundland. Owing to restraint, he declared, English ships dared not go there, only French and Dutch. When the bill was reported on May 24 the arguments were still about Newfoundland. Sandys, naming New England, introduced facts which were clearly applicable only to Newfoundland. He spoke of those who had rented booths to foreigners and of the inhabitants having the first fishing (a Newfoundland grievance). As the New England charter was dated November 3, 1620, it is manifestly absurd that he should have made allegations in the spring of 1621 regarding its effect on the New England fisheries. The season's fishing fleet had hardly left for America, and he could have known nothing about affairs in New England. He was merely being factious and was making statements which were, to say the least, misleading and have the appearance of deliberate falsehood. Another argument, introduced into the debate by Manneringe, was to the effect that the planters should sell fish to England only and should transport it in English bottoms. As there were no "planters" in New England, it is clear that he, like all the others, was thinking of the bill in terms of Newfoundland.²³

²² *Alderman Cockayne's Project and the Cloth Trade: The Commercial Policy of England in its Main Aspects, 1603-1625* (Copenhagen, 1927), ch. 3, p. 132 *et passim*.

²³ *Commons' Journals*, I, 578, 591, 593-94, 626; *Commons' Debates, 1621*, II, 320-21, 386, III, 81, n., 81-82, 94, 298, IV, 255-56, 263-64, 367-68, V, 98-99, 349, 378-79, VII, 302; Nicholas, I, 318, II, 97. Sandys's part in this struggle is not out of keeping with other recent estimates of his character. Wesley Frank Craven explained his lack of favor in government circles by his tendency to put personal before national interests. *Dissolution of the Virginia Company* (New York, 1932), pp. 292-94. I have no evidence that Sandys was financially interested in "free fishing". On the contrary Lounsbury asserts (p. 38) that

There is no doubt that in the first session of the parliament of 1621 there was no public outburst against the charter of the Council for New England and that the Bill for Free Fishing was directed against the activities of the London and Bristol Company in Newfoundland. Of course it would have included the New England fisheries in its scope, and the house of commons was probably aware of that fact. Sir Ferdinando Gorges was called before the committee for the bill on May 2 as a representative of the New England Council and hence an expert on American affairs and an interested party. His appearance does not prove that the bill was an attack on his charter. The Virginia Company was also summoned, but it has not been inferred from this that the bill was an attack on the charter of that organization.

By the time of the summer recess the general Bill for Free Fishing had gone through two readings in the house of commons and, having been reported from committee, had been engrossed on parchment in readiness for the third and final reading. When the houses reassembled in November, however, a different situation had arisen because of certain developments with regard to fishing in New England. During the summer recess Gorges had communicated his plan for the co-ordination of fishing and colonization to the western ports; he had negotiated with individual shipowners; and he had forcibly restrained some ships which were intending to go to New England.²⁴ The fishing interests of the western counties had reacted unfavorably to all Gorges's moves. They preferred to get what they could out of the new fisheries, if such fisheries existed, without any deduction for colonization or for the administration of justice in the fisheries. Most of the merchants were wary of any schemes of co-operation, particularly with men from other seaports. The only thing on which all agreed was opposition to the plan. Bristol merchants and probably those of other ports, too, communicated with their agents in London to find out whether the charter could be evaded and what legislative action might be taken to render it impotent.²⁵

Sandys had been at one time a party to a scheme to get control of the Spanish trade and keep it in the hands of a few London merchants. This would have cut out his allies in 1621, the western merchants, from the direct fish trade between Newfoundland and Spain. His action in the case of the fishing controversy can only be ascribed to political factionousness.

²⁴ Bristol "Book of Trade", ff. 105-109, 111; *Commons' Debates, 1621*, IV, 419, V, 205; *Commons' Journals*, I, 640-41; *Acts of the Privy Council of England, Colonial*, I (Hereford, 1908), 46-47.

²⁵ Bristol "Book of Trade", f. 111; H. J. Moule, *Descriptive Catalogue of the Charters of the Borough of Weymouth and Melcombe Regis* (Weymouth, 1883), p. 109.

The immediate outcry of the western men when the house re-assembled in November was that the Bill for Free Fishing should be speeded. They demanded vociferously that the patent and Gorges should be brought before them. Their arguments were now directed specifically at the charter of the Council for New England. And when they realized that the house as a whole was not sufficiently interested in the matter, they determined to try a short cut and to bring in Gorges's patent as a grievance of the realm. Not only were the majority of the members not interested in the fishing question, but the Virginia Company had now entirely withdrawn from its attempt to hunt with the hounds while running with the hare. Sandys, the wily politician, had burned his fingers during the vacation by communicating directly with Frederick of the Palatinate, an intrusion into foreign policy which the government could not allow. When the attack on the charter began he was absent, "ill".²⁶ Nor did any other member of the Virginia Company step into his place. The claims of that corporation had been satisfied during the vacation by an order from the privy council, or rather by a repetition of the previous order made before the charter was issued. Henceforward the Virginia Company was to be allowed to share in the northern waters.²⁷ And so the western men alone were shouting for the examination of the patent as a grievance.

In spite of their aggressiveness the fishing interests could not carry forward their attack on Gorges, and prorogation came in December without the question's having been discussed or the patent's having been examined in the committee of grievances.²⁸ One reason for this was that even the western men themselves were not too keen to press their case against the charter. Delbridge of Barnstaple, a great adversary of Gorges, spoke during a period of great tension and crisis "concerning the great decay of trade in their parts", as the *Journals* record. But from the parliamentary diary of Edward Nicholas it is clear that what he actually moved was that "all respects of trade" be laid aside until more important affairs like religion, the "lamentable estate" of the king's children, and "privilege" had been settled.²⁹ The westerners were an articulate part of the opposition to royal policy. Their own little grievance against a royal charter's giving control of New England

²⁶ Samuel Rawson Gardiner, *History of England, 1603-1642* (London, 1884-86), IV, 133, 234.

²⁷ *Acts of the Privy Council, 1619-21* (London, 1930), V, 400.

²⁸ See above.

²⁹ *Commons' Journals*, I, 658; Nicholas, II, 279-80.

fishing waters to a closed corporation must defer to the general attack on royal policy. Meanwhile the Bill for Free Fishing in American waters in general had been passed by the house of commons on December 1. If it could be pushed through the house of lords and made law, it would deal with the situation in New England along with Newfoundland. The particular grievance against the New England charter would be removed by general legislation. Shortly afterwards, however, James dissolved parliament and made his famous gesture of tearing from the journals of the commons the "protestation" of 1621.

Between the parliaments of 1621 and 1624 Gorges endeavored to put into operation his plan for basing New England colonization on a reasonable taxation of the fishing industry. Its eventual failure can be shown to have been no more due to the plan's being completely unfeasible than to a popular outcry against it in 1621. In the remainder of this article we shall consider whether the scheme was practicable in organization, whether it was extortionate, and whether it was based on a sound and far-seeing policy.

When the scheme had been put to them in the summer of 1621 the Bristol merchants, and no doubt those of other towns, had objected to it on the ground that it was "difficult". As they immediately attempted to find out whether individuals might get permission to dispatch fishing expeditions, the basis of their objection was, presumably, the complicated nature of the controlling organization.³⁰ Professor Harold A. Innis has shown that as the ship was the largest technical unit engaged in the trade, complicated organization was not suitable to the fishing industry.³¹ On the other hand the Dutch fishing industry had been successfully regulated by meetings of the representatives of the fishing towns in council, an organization which later developed into the herring fishery "directions". Eli F. Heckscher believes that, though no connection can be traced, the "directions" were very possibly the ancestors of the Gorges plan for the New England fisheries.³² In any case they suggest that it was a practicable scheme. Over the federal council of fishing towns the Council for New England would exercise a supervisory control. Consisting of various members of the ruling class, privy councilors, and government officials, its duty would be to apply the money paid in by the merchants to a scheme of carefully regulated colonization. The

³⁰ Bristol "Book of Trade", f. 110.

³¹ "Introduction to the Economic History of the Maritimes including Newfoundland and New England", *Canadian Historical Association Report*, 1931, pp. 85, 86.

³² *Mercantilism* (London, 1935), I, 355, 391.

members of the council would derive a profit not from the tax on fishing but from colonization and land ownership. The scheme was an ingenious attempt to establish a colony indirectly under the control of the government in days before direct state colonial enterprise was thought of and when no system of colonial government and trade regulation had been worked out.

The working capital of the Council for New England was to consist of "adventures" of £100 to be paid in by the forty members of the council and of license fees to be paid by merchants who sent fishing voyages to the New England coast.³³ We do not have much information about the cost of licenses. A political opponent in the house, Mr. Neale, declared it to be 10 per cent of the total catch.³⁴ Gorges asked the Bristol merchants for a license fee of 10 per cent of their "adventure" (the capital outlay of the victualers) but later compromised by requesting £10 for every thirty tons rating of a ship.³⁵ John Smith wrote that the charge was intended to be £5 for every thirty tons,³⁶ and this approximates the actual fees paid by ships which acknowledged the authority of the Council for New England in 1622 and 1623. On February 4, 1622/3 £40 was paid for three Barnstable ships of a total tonnage of 225 tons, *i.e.*, £5:6:8 for every thirty tons.³⁷ Claims for 10 per cent of the catch or of the capital outlay would have destroyed both the fishing and the plan for colonization and, judging by the compromises made later, would seem to have been made only as a basis for negotiation. The actual cost of licenses was not excessive.

License fees must be measured against profits to estimate their potential impact on the fishing industry. While figures for American fishing are rare, pamphleteers about this time were urging that the North Sea fisheries would yield up to 200 per cent profits on the outlay

³³ Am. Antiquarian Soc. *Proceedings*, IV, 60, *et passim*; Gorges, "Brief Relation", in Burrage, *Gorges and the Grant*, p. 151.

³⁴ "X" diary, *Commons' Debates*, 1621, II, 443; Barrington diary, *ibid.*, III, 441.

³⁵ Christy, *Am. Hist. Rev.*, IV, 692-94.

³⁶ "Travels and Observations", in *Travels and Works*, II, 892.

³⁷ "Records of the Council for New England", Am. Antiquarian Soc. *Proceedings*, IV, 83, 88, 95. Other ships were licensed for £13:6:8 and £6:13:4, but the clerk of the council left a blank where he intended to insert their tonnage in the records. The manner in which the price of fishing licenses has been boosted by historians is shown by the following errors in transcription. The *Eagle* was the ship licensed for £6:13:4. In Maine Hist. Soc. *Coll.*, V, 186, n. 2, the fee is recorded as £16:13:4. In Henry S. Burrage, *Beginnings of Colonial Maine* (Portland, 1914), p. 150, n., it became £161:13:4, about twenty-five times the actual amount.

of provisioning fishing trips to compete with the Dutch.³⁸ Patriotic zeal probably led to exaggeration of these estimates. On the other hand the westerners engaged in transatlantic fishing would expect a greater return than the North Sea fishermen to make up for a longer sea journey and greater risks from storms, pirates, and national enemies. Existing figures for the New England fishing confirm the idea that profits were large. It was customary to divide the catch into three equal parts between the owner of the vessel, the master and crew, and the victualers who had provisioned and equipped the venture.³⁹ Figures given by Christopher Levett suggest that the profit to the "undertakers" (*i.e.*, victualers) of a seven months' voyage, based on their one third of the catch, would be about 68 per cent. He argued that if an expedition fished the whole year, it would make 160 per cent profit.⁴⁰ Richard Whitbourne's figures for Newfoundland give the profit of a season's fishing at 82½ per cent.⁴¹ Smith, in 1623, estimated the regular profits from the fishing trade across the Atlantic at 20, 30, 50, and in outstanding cases 300 per cent.⁴² The cost of victualing fishing vessels varied from £420:1:4 to £800 or even £1200.⁴³ Thus, big returns were to be expected from the transatlantic fisheries. Taking Whitbourne's example, a hundred ton ship, paying about £16:15:7 license fee on the scale estimated above, would expect a catch worth £2250:0:0 and a return to the victualers of one third of that sum.

The large profits which these figures reveal were offset by great danger of loss, which an accurate computation would have to take into account. Moreover, it was a real grievance that the licenses were demanded in advance (doubtless to secure previous recognition of the authority of the council) when capital was hard to obtain and in spite of the fact that the expedition might be a total loss. Such difficulties as

³⁸ Tobias Gentleman, "England's Way to win Wealth and to employ Ships and Mariners . . ." (1st printed London, 1614) in *Harleian Miscellany* (London, 1745), III, 378-91; E. S., "Britain's Buss, or a Computation as Well of the Charge of a Buss or Herring Fishing Ship; as also of the Gain and Profit Thereby" (London, 1615), in Edw. Arber, *An English Garner* (London, 1880), III, 621-56; J. R., "The Trade's Increase" (London, 1615), in *Harleian Miscellany*, IV, 202-20.

³⁹ Smith, "Generall Historie", *Travels and Works*, II, 773.

⁴⁰ "A Voyage to New England", ch. 6, *Maine Hist. Soc. Coll.*, II, 104-106. Allowance has to be made for an elementary mistake in Levett's arithmetic.

⁴¹ *Discovery of Newfoundland* (London, 1622), pp. 89 ff.

⁴² "Generall Historie", *Travels and Works*, II, 773.

⁴³ Whitbourne, pp. 81-84; Levett, *Maine Hist. Soc. Coll.*, II, 104-106; "Pym's Diary", *Commons' Debates*, 1621, IV, 419.

these, however, being of a minor nature, could easily have been settled by compromise. They do not disprove the fact that the cost of licenses was "an easy ransoming of the freedoms of those that had a will to partake only of the present profits, arising by the trade, and fishing upon the coast".⁴⁴

More important even than the question of extortion is the soundness of the policy on which the scheme was based. In this respect the fact that a semi-independent Puritan colonization of New England would have been prevented must not be given undue emphasis. Gorges's plan must be considered insofar as it would have benefited his country as a whole and at the same time have given some advantage to the fishing interests in return for the payment of license fees. If the Council for New England had been firmly established, it would have ensured that the lawlessness and disorder of Newfoundland would not spread to the new fishing grounds, and the trade would have benefited from control in the long run. Intrusion by French and Dutch vessels, which Sir Edwin Sandys had alleged was not prevented by Gorges, would obviously have been prohibited when the coast was securely in English hands.⁴⁵ Colonization and fishing might well have gone on side by side under the Gorges scheme to the general good of the state. The western merchants might have resisted for a longer period than they did the natural economic advantages of New England residents in the struggle for control of the fishery. One cannot resist the conclusion that the fishing merchants were thinking only of immediate profits. As businessmen they had no interest in schemes which would have benefited the nation as a whole by the settlement of colonies under closer imperial control, and which would almost certainly have been to their own good if they had taken a longer point of view. They desired to retain the fishing grounds under their direct control, and they presumed that there could be no co-ordination between fishing on the one hand and colonization, "a titulary thing" as a member of the house called it, on the other.⁴⁶

External opposition was not the only source of weakness in Gorges's scheme. Despite Sir Ferdinando's encouragement and example, most of the patentees, apart from a few enthusiasts, failed to pay the "adventure", which would have set the council on it feet. These men were even more self-interested than the merchants since they appear to have been drawn into the scheme in the hope of getting returns without outlay

⁴⁴ Gorges, "Brief Relation", in Burrage, *Gorges and the Grant*, p. 151.

⁴⁵ *Commons' Journals*, I, 593-94; *Commons' Debates*, 1621, II, 321.

⁴⁶ *Commons' Debates*, 1621, VI, 218.

and with no labor. Lacking strong financial backing, the colonial venture which Gorges sent out under his son Robert in 1623 had little hope of life. Its demise was expedited by a renewal of opposition in the parliament of 1624. The articulate minority which had supported the Bill for Free Fishing and had introduced the attack on Gorges's patent in 1621 was a part of the swelling opposition to the rule of the Stuarts. Attempts to put the plan into operation could so easily be decried as monopolistic, and the charter was useful as a focusing point for political opposition. Gorges had been told that more than three hundred voices would be raised against him in the next parliament.⁴⁷ The result of attacks in the committee of grievances of the parliament of 1624 was the withdrawal of privy council support for the whole plan of basing colonization on fishing, followed by a decade of dormancy for the Council for New England.⁴⁸ A general Bill for Free Fishing in American waters was introduced in successive parliaments down to 1629, having become an automatic measure of the opposition elements. It would have made impossible a renewal of Gorges's plan. Though the bill was no longer opposed by the government it failed to become law because of the stalemate of legislative activity during those years. There were no more specific attacks on the charter of the Council for New England as a grievance of the realm because after 1624 the fishing clause was tacitly allowed to lapse.

RICHARD A. PRESTON.

University College, Cardiff, Wales.

⁴⁷ Gorges, "Brief Narration", *Maine Hist. Soc. Coll.*, II, 34.

⁴⁸ Gorges claimed that the king wished him to continue with his work. But the withdrawal of his patentees, especially of privy councilors, which seems to have followed, would make continuance impossible. *Ibid.*, pp. 39-40.

THE FRENCH JESUITS IN THE AGE OF ENLIGHTENMENT

A STATISTICAL STUDY OF THE *Journal de Trévoux*

Too often we think of the eighteenth century in France, as a time when two distinct groups were pitted against each other, a group of *philosophes* who favored new and enlightened ideas and another group, mostly clerical and frequently Jesuit, who stood directly across the path of intellectual advancement. This view of the matter is essentially that of the *philosophes* themselves. It has perpetuated itself among us, with modifications, because few historians outside of France have examined the Catholic writers of the period. We have easily supposed that these writers were the obscurantists that the *philosophes* called them, because we have generally approved of the liberal and critical spirit which the *philosophes* preached. But this very spirit must in the end prompt us to reconsider. We must consult the Catholic writers if only to restore the balance. By doing so we may also learn more precisely what the "enlightenment" of the eighteenth century was. It was not simply the war cry of a party or an issue that divided men into two camps; it was a readjustment of ideas that affected all educated persons, including those who remained faithful to the church.¹

From the huge body of Catholic writings of the time the *Journal de Trévoux* is worth singling out for special study.² It was edited by the Jesuits of the college of Louis-le-Grand, the famous school (part of the University of Paris) where Voltaire, Diderot, and many other notables received their education. The journal was launched under the auspices of the Duc de Maine, Louis XIV's natural son, who wished to emulate his father as a patron of letters and to make famous his principality of Dombes, a small district north of Lyons. At Trévoux in Dombes, therefore, the journal was published until 1731. The editors took as a model the *Journal des savants*, the only older French periodical of this kind. The purpose of both journals was to make the new learning avail-

¹ The view taken in this paragraph is elaborated in the author's *Catholics & Unbelievers in Eighteenth Century France*, Princeton University Press (Princeton, 1939).

² The proper title is *Mémoires pour l'histoire des sciences et des beaux arts*, but the title varied somewhat between 1701 and 1778, and the work is commonly referred to as the *Mémoires de Trévoux* or *Journal de Trévoux*. It was published at Trévoux until March, 1731, at Lyons from April, 1731, to December, 1733, and at Paris beginning with January, 1734.

able to general readers by giving excerpts, abridgments, and critical judgments of new books and to promote knowledge by serving as a forum where the learned world could communicate by letters and miscellaneous announcements. The Jesuits, being an organized body engaged in teaching and research and having as regular correspondents their fellows throughout Europe, America, and Asia, were in an especially favorable position for editing such a journal. In addition, the new editors declared their purpose to be the defense of the Catholic religion. But they announced that, except on the matter of theological error, they would treat the works of heretics and unbelievers in an unpartisan spirit.³

Beginning in the first month of the eighteenth century, January, 1701, and continuing, as a Jesuit organ, until April, 1762, a few months before the Society of Jesus became illegal in France, the *Journal de Trévoux* covers the important years of the rise and spread of the Enlightenment. Its circulation cannot be estimated, but its success may be judged from the fact that in the mid-century reprints and translations of whole volumes were published in Italy and Holland.⁴ Two booksellers about 1750 considered reprinting the complete collection of all numbers since 1701; various individuals proposed making a general index; a large anthology of selected articles was issued by an admirer.⁵ In 1762, when the government proscribed the Jesuit order, it sought to induce the editor, Berthier, to continue publication privately, offering a property right in the journal to him and his heirs.⁶ From such indications it seems fair to assume that the *Journal de Trévoux* was one of the most widely read and highly valued periodicals in France. It reflects to some indeterminate extent the changing interests of the reading public to whom it was addressed. It reveals more definitely the intellectual life

³ On the subject in general see Gustave Dumas, *Histoire du Journal de Trévoux depuis 1701 jusqu'en 1762* (Paris, 1936); C. Sommervogel, S. J., "Essai historique sur les Mémoires de Trévoux", prefixed to Volume I of his *Table méthodique des Mémoires de Trévoux* (3 vols., Paris, 1864); and Eugène Hatın, *Histoire politique et littéraire de la presse en France* (8 vols., Paris, 1859-61), II, 260-79.

⁴ Dumas, pp. 153-54; Sommervogel, I, lxxviii, xci.

⁵ Dumas, pp. 168-69; Sommervogel, I, xci-xcii; P. A. Alletz, *L'esprit des journalistes de Trévoux* (4 vols., Paris, 1772).

⁶ Sommervogel, I, cxiv; Hatın, II, 269; both citing only Louis Petit de Bachaumont, *Mémoires secrets* (London, 1777), I, 90. Berthier declined the offer, but the *Journal* was continued by various hands, none of them successful, until 1778, to be briefly resumed in 1780 and finally to expire in 1782. In 1783, when Berthier died, Bachaumont observed that he had conducted the *Journal de Trévoux* "avec un ton de critique toujours sage, impartiale et ferme" (*ibid.*, XXII, 6).

of the Rue Saint-Jacques, to which, then as now, much of France looked for its schooling.

In sixty-two years the editors turned out 150,000 printed pages and dealt with some twelve thousand items, most of which were printed books. It is desirable to know what these twelve thousand books and other items were about, and what kinds of items rose or fell in importance during the sixty-two years. This knowledge may be had only by classification and counting. Statistical method, not usually very helpful to the historian of ideas, seems here to have a legitimate use. The items in question are sufficiently similar to be counted; they are numerous enough for chance vagaries to be minimized; and the period in question is long enough to establish a trend. In addition, the practical task is made easier by the fact that the *Journal* printed each year an index to its contents. From these annual indexes, with occasional reference to the body of the *Journal*, the tables that follow have been prepared.

The limitations of statistical method, however, are only too painfully apparent. It is necessary to begin with a number of assumptions. The first, and most harmless, is that the general development is revealed by the data of certain selected years, spaced at ten-year intervals. To avoid chance irregularities, for each of the years indicated three years have been counted together; that is, the figures for 1702 are actually those for 1701, 1702, and 1703; "1710" means 1709, 1710, and 1711, etc. In this way about a third of the sixty-two years have been examined. The second assumption is far more open to question. Each item in the indexes to the *Journal* has been considered a unit, equal to every other. Some of the items, however, are letters written to the editors or other persons; some are the mere names of books recorded by the editors without comment; some represent books criticized in a paragraph; and some, books to which a hundred pages were devoted. The first volume of the great *Encyclopédie*, published in 1751, thus appears in the tables as one item, carrying no more weight than the announcement of a prize contest at Toulouse or a letter describing a newly found coin of Diocletian. This procedure is obviously most unreal. It is hardly avoidable, however, short of some system of weighting too complex and too dubious to use. It is the author's belief that this fiction produces in the end no serious distortion. If the *Encyclopédie* counts as only one item, so do very large theological treatises; and since 4143 items are considered, the injustice is probably about equal on all sides. As for the difference in the influence

of various books, the tables do not pretend to measure this but to show how the editors of the *Journal* distributed their attention.

The real difficulty, and most transparent fiction, arises in the problem of classification. To classify the items it is necessary to have categories. To have valid categories it is necessary to suppose that the units in each category are alike in the respect to which the category refers. Individual differences among the units must be set aside; otherwise the units cannot be classified at all. Books, however, are notably individualistic. By whatever subject categories we might undertake to classify them, some would spread over several subjects, and some would require a category by themselves. In any case, supposing the classification made, the important thing for the historian is not the subject, but how the subject is treated—whether, for example, the medical books of 1760 were better than those of 1701, or the books on politics more critical and outspoken. Books can be classified by subject only at the cost of abstracting their most revealing features. The following tables have therefore only a limited meaning. At most, they show in what subjects interest was taken. They show nothing about the quality or purpose of this interest.

Granting that classification is possible or desirable, the problem remains of what categories to choose. The conclusions with which we emerge depend largely on the categories that we set up at the outset. For example, if we wish to show that interest shifted from learned to popular subjects between 1701 and 1762, we must so distinguish our categories that some can be called learned and others popular, and we must assign the items to these categories according to the same principles throughout the whole period. The categories, once set up, must stand. The individual items must be made to conform to them. If the categories are well chosen, after a preliminary and inductive study of the material, most of the items will easily conform; but some of them will have to be jammed into place rather forcibly and a few intractable ones released as “miscellaneous”. In short, the preliminary study leading to selection of categories may be partly inductive, but when the categories are established the method becomes *a priori* and sometimes arbitrary. Even statistical facts do not speak for themselves. They say what they are organized to say.

Thirty-three categories, falling into eight major groups, have been chosen for the present study. A word must be said of each before the tables can be well understood:

The first group, “Religion”, contains five categories. (1) *Doctrinal*

religion embraces works of dogmatic theology, commentaries on the Bible and the Fathers, and controversial writings against Protestants and Jansenists. (2) *Applied religion* includes works of piety and edification, sermons, religious oratory, and many kinds of religious poetry, such as poetical renderings of the Psalms. (3) *Apologetic* has been purposely limited to mean only the books clearly directed against the unbelievers, the people then called *incrédules*, *impies*, and *esprits-forts*. Much apologetic entered into other writings, particularly, as the century went on, into those classified as applied religion. (4) *Sacred history* includes biblical and church history, lives of the saints, etc. (5) *Miscellaneous religion* includes a variety of matters, of which liturgy, canon law, and church government are the most clearly identifiable.

Historical writings are classified by periods, (6) *Ancient history* running to the end of the Roman world, (7) *Modern history* from the end of the Roman world to the time of (8) *Contemporary history*, which is defined as beginning about fifty years before the date of the item concerned. The conception of "medieval history" hardly existed in the eighteenth century, except to mean the period between the fall of Rome and relatively contemporary times. (9) *Universal history* is what it seems to be. All these historical categories are distinguished from (10) *Auxiliary historical sciences*, which includes works on numismatics, epigraphy, paleography, diplomatic, genealogy, chronology, historical geography, collections of documents, and miscellaneous antiquities.

"Philosophy" is a small and difficult category because the word was then used freely to describe items easily classified elsewhere. (11) *Formal philosophy* consists chiefly in works of logic and metaphysics of the more ponderous kind but includes (as one item in 1740) a book by Swedenborg and also the more serious writings on the sensationalist psychology, which was then called metaphysics. (12) *Popular philosophy* includes the characteristic writings of the *philosophes*, deistical works, works arguing for the sufficiency of natural religion, "reflections" and "considerations" on man and morals.

Under "Science" most of the items fall into (13) *Mathematical and physical science*, a large category which it has not proved practicable to break down and which embraces, in general, those sciences that could be dealt with by quantitative method. (14) *Natural history* refers to the sciences which then depended chiefly on the collection of specimens or on purely empirical observations. Botany, zoology, and geology are included. (15) *Physiology and anatomy* need not be explained.

Social studies in the eighteenth century were not clearly differen-

tiated. (16) *Law, politics, and economics* is therefore rather comprehensive and is one of the categories in which the character of items underwent the greatest change in the years considered. (17) *Geography and travel* includes a few works on Europe but is made up mostly of books on far countries and strange peoples. In this category have been put works of travel, a few "histories" of countries like Persia and Paraguay, where the effect was to broaden geographical rather than historical knowledge, and the letters from Jesuit missions, which often had little to do with religion. (18) *Education*, a small but important category, embraces only writings on general method or theory. Textbooks and books on the teaching of particular subjects have been classified with the subjects with which they deal.

Under "Art and letters" (19) *Rhetoric* includes such characteristic productions of the time as academic discourses, public orations, and formal eulogies, together with works purporting to teach eloquence. Some of the eulogies were only obituaries, not always rhetorical. (20) *Belles lettres, ancient*, contains reprints of, and books about, the Greek and Roman classics. (21) *Belles lettres, modern*, is extremely miscellaneous in content; it includes imaginative works, works falling within certain standard literary forms, and those whose purpose was more to please the reader than to instruct him. (22) *Arts* includes works on painting and music, a few books on aesthetic theory, and, in the years 1750 and 1760, a large number of prints and engravings not necessarily artistic.

"Practical and technical" has purposely been defined very broadly. (23) Under *Medicine* have been put all items dealing with medicine, surgery, pharmacy, and specific diseases. (24) *Agriculture*, besides the obvious works, includes items on veterinary medicine, horticulture, poultry raising, and bee keeping. (25) *Architecture and engineering* takes in writings on metallurgy and various kinds of machines. (26) *Chronometry and navigation* is self evident; (27) *Cartography* includes both maps and books on map making; (28) *Military science*, books on strategy, fortification, etc.; (29) *Linguistic aids*, dictionaries, grammars, and textbooks of foreign languages; (30) *Reference books*, dictionaries of particular sciences, indexes, catalogues, bibliographies—and the *Encyclopédie*. (31) *Miscellaneous practical and technical* works cannot be briefly described. (32) *Learned societies* means publications of learned academies and books about them. (33) *General miscellaneous* receives the irreducible remainder.

The reader may now consult Table I. He will see that the Jesuit

TABLE I
Distribution of Items in the *Journal de Trévoux*

	1702 ⁷	1710	1720 ⁸	1730	1740	1750	1760
I. Religion.....	<i>195</i> ⁹	<i>195</i>	<i>155</i>	<i>116</i>	<i>140</i>	<i>158</i>	<i>180</i>
1. Doctrinal religion.....	93	123	63	68	49	51	48
2. Applied religion.....	34	21	21	15	40	22	58
3. Apologetic.....	5	5	7	3	8	16	20
4. Sacred history.....	33	31	44	17	28	57	34
5. Miscellaneous religion.....	30	15	20	13	15	12	20
II. History (other than 4).....	<i>107</i>	<i>84</i>	<i>92</i>	<i>80</i>	<i>85</i>	<i>131</i>	<i>132</i>
6. Ancient history.....	7	2	6	7	15	17	8
7. Modern history.....	17	19	38	27	21	47	47
8. Contemporary history.....	12	7	6	2	9	11	11
9. Universal history.....	2	0	1	0	3	2	4
10. Auxiliary historical sciences..	69	56	41	44	37	54	62
III. Philosophy.....	<i>25</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>16</i>	<i>13</i>	<i>17</i>	<i>31</i>	<i>26</i>
11. Formal philosophy.....	20	3	15	11	7	18	10
12. Popular philosophy.....	5	2	1	2	10	13	16
IV. Science.....	<i>45</i>	<i>49</i>	<i>53</i>	<i>61</i>	<i>94</i>	<i>122</i>	<i>97</i>
13. Mathematical and physical..	33	43	37	52	83	81	68
14. Natural history.....	9	4	9	6	8	31	18
15. Physiology and anatomy....	3	2	7	3	3	10	11
V. Social studies.....	<i>29</i>	<i>25</i>	<i>36</i>	<i>17</i>	<i>26</i>	<i>67</i>	<i>89</i>
16. Law, politics, and economics.	15	15	19	7	15	42	55
17. Geography and travel.....	14	9	15	9	11	20	32
18. Education.....	0	1	2	1	0	5	2
VI. Art and letters.....	<i>41</i>	<i>54</i>	<i>46</i>	<i>41</i>	<i>57</i>	<i>182</i>	<i>177</i>
19. Rhetoric.....	14	22	19	3	17	27	38
20. Belles lettres, ancient.....	10	10	9	5	4	27	24
21. Belles lettres, modern.....	13	19	13	28	34	98	77
22. Arts.....	4	3	5	5	2	30	38
VII. Practical and technical.....	<i>36</i>	<i>44</i>	<i>52</i>	<i>37</i>	<i>72</i>	<i>127</i>	<i>144</i>
23. Medicine.....	11	21	25	11	41	51	41
24. Agriculture.....	1	3	0	0	1	9	19
25. Architecture and engineering.	0	3	3	7	5	4	5
26. Chronometry and navigation.	1	0	1	2	2	3	4
27. Cartography.....	9	1	2	1	9	9	18
28. Military science.....	1	1	3	2	5	2	6
29. Linguistic aids.....	6	13	14	8	6	12	18
30. Reference books.....	5	0	1	3	3	27	24
31. Misc. practical and technical.	2	2	3	3	0	10	9
VIII. Miscellaneous.....	<i>42</i>	<i>23</i>	<i>25</i>	<i>22</i>	<i>24</i>	<i>53</i>	<i>51</i>
32. Learned societies.....	9	10	10	7	8	19	15
33. General miscellaneous.....	33	13	15	15	16	34	36
Totals (Grand total, 4143).....	520	479	475	387	515	871	896

⁷ The figures are totals for three years centered in the year indicated. Since works noted by the *Journal* in successive years are counted in both, there is a little duplication, which produces occasional distortion in the very small categories, such as 9 and 18.

⁸ Since only five monthly numbers of the *Journal* were published in 1720, the year 1722 has been included in this column, which thus represents forty-one months.

⁹ Italicized figures are subtotals.

editors dealt with all kinds of subjects, and he may note, if interested, that the *Journal de Trévoux* is a rich storehouse of eighteenth century bibliography. He will perhaps next observe the great fluctuation in the decennial totals, which reach their low point in 1730. This persistent decrease from 1702 to 1730 was due partly to a change in editorial policy by which longer notices of fewer items became the rule. It reflects also certain internal difficulties among the Jesuits at Paris. In 1720 the *Journal* failed to appear for seven months, the only such interruption in sixty-two years. In 1730 the editors were having trouble with their patron, the Duc de Maine, and with their printer at Trévoux. Finally in 1734 the former was reconciled, the editorial board reorganized, publication transferred to Paris, and a new policy embarked upon.¹⁰ The *Journal* then enjoyed a period of prosperity which lasted until 1762. It changed with the times, and its contents reflect many changes that came over France.

To make these changes more evident, and to have a proper basis of comparison, the main figures in Table I must be changed into percentages of each decennial total. This operation gives Table II, which shows the distribution among the major groups irrespective of the totals for each year.

TABLE II
Relative Magnitude of Major Groups

	1702	1710	1720	1730	1740	1750	1760
I. Religion.....	37.5	40.7	32.6	30.0	27.2	18.1	20.1
II. History.....	20.6	17.6	19.4	20.7	16.5	15.0	14.7
III. Philosophy.....	4.8	1.0	3.4	3.3	3.3	3.6	2.9
IV. Science.....	8.7	10.2	11.1	15.8	18.2	14.0	10.8
V. Social studies....	5.5	5.2	7.6	4.4	5.0	7.7	9.9
VI. Art and letters...	7.9	11.3	9.7	10.6	11.1	20.9	19.8
VII. Prac. and tech...	6.9	9.2	10.9	9.5	14.0	14.6	16.1
VIII. Miscellaneous....	8.1	4.8	5.3	5.7	4.7	6.1	5.7
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

The most striking fact is now seen to be the decline in religious items, only halted after 1750. This is the most uniform and constant trend to be observed in the whole period. Does it mean that the people whose sentiments the *Journal de Trévoux* reflects were really becoming less religious? Some answer is furnished by examining the constituent categories under "Religion". Table III shows the proportions of these categories to the respective decennial totals.

¹⁰ Dumas, pp. 122-49; Sommervogel, I, xliii-xliv, lvi-lxvii.

TABLE III
Proportion of Religious Items to Total Items
(Percentages)

	1702	1710	1720	1730	1740	1750	1760
1. Doctrinal religion.....	17.9	25.7	13.2	17.6	9.5	5.8	5.4
2. Applied religion.....	6.5	4.4	4.4	3.9	7.8	2.6	6.5
3. Apologetic.....	1.0	1.0	1.5	.8	1.6	1.8	2.2
4. Sacred history.....	6.3	6.5	9.3	4.4	5.4	6.5	3.8
5. Miscellaneous religion..	5.8	3.1	4.2	3.3	2.9	1.4	2.2
	37.5	40.7	32.6	30.0	27.2	18.1	20.1

The loss is shown here to have been most steady and most sweeping in doctrinal religion. There are rises in 1710 and in 1730, probably due to the Jansenist troubles; after 1730 the fall is sudden and pronounced. Applied religion, after vicissitudes, is exactly the same in 1760 as in 1702. Apologetic more than doubles but even in 1760 accounts for hardly more than two of every hundred items recorded. What the figures show, therefore, is a waning of theology. The readers of the *Journal de Trévoux*, whatever their private sentiments, lost interest in the more intellectual and disputatious side of their religion.

Intellectual interests were shifting to new fields. This is no surprising discovery. It is more surprising to find that history and philosophy, as defined in our categories, were not among these fields. Both, according to Table II, were proportionately smaller in all years after 1730 than in 1702. The situation incites to further analysis. Let us distinguish the more erudite from the more popular elements.

TABLE IV
Proportion of Historical and Philosophical Items to Total Items
(Percentages)

	1702	1710	1720	1730	1740	1750	1760
6, 7, 8, and 9. Historical writings.....	7.3	5.8	10.7	9.3	9.3	8.8	7.8
10. Auxiliary historical sciences.....	13.3	11.7	8.6	11.4	7.2	6.2	6.9
11. Formal philosophy...	3.8	.6	3.2	2.8	1.4	2.1	1.1
12. Popular philosophy..	1.0	.4	.2	.5	1.9	1.5	1.8

It is apparent that the loss in history was due chiefly to loss in the learned historical auxiliaries, and in philosophy entirely to loss in works classified as "formal". This conclusion is more in keeping with what we know of the Age of Enlightenment after 1730. The fact remains, how-

ever, that, so far as the *Journal de Trévoux* gives us evidence, the relative popularity of history was highest in 1720, and that philosophical works, in the *philosophe* sense, remained relatively so few as to be quantitatively negligible.

Science was clearly one of the matters to which reading people, and our Jesuit editors, gave increasing attention. It is the only subject for which Table I shows a continual rise in number of items from 1702 to 1750 and the only one not to suffer diminution in the lean year 1730. The most marked increase, in absolute numbers, occurs in the twenty years from 1730 to 1750. It was in these years that the Newtonian system established itself in France. "Natural philosophy" became almost a popular avocation. The literary deigned to enter the laboratory; Voltaire and Mme. du Châtelet, for example, performed many serious scientific experiments together. Proportionately, however, according to the *Journal de Trévoux*, interest in science declined sharply after 1740. By 1760 science had lost even in absolute numbers.

This relative setback to science, like the earlier setback to history, was due to the advance of younger competitors, namely, "Art and letters", "Practical and technical works", and "Social studies". It is the rise of these subjects that distinguishes the age of the *philosophes* after 1730 from the learned age that preceded it. In 1730, as may be seen from Table II, Religion, History, and Science were far in the lead. In 1760 the three "younger competitors" had grown so substantially that the six categories were more nearly equal than at any preceding time, all of them falling between 9.9 and 20.1 per cent of the total for that year. This dry fact may be interpreted thus: as the relative recession of religion left more room for other interests, the forces stored up in earlier works of science and history began to spread; science and history were certainly not less important in 1760 than in 1730—the difference is that they were diffused through other fields.

The rise of the new categories is perhaps best explained by changes in French society. As the country became more wealthy, more people had the leisure and inclination to read, people who as a class had not read much before and who had formed no habits of laborious education. Such people, mostly bourgeois but including many who were legally noble, wished to feel that they shared in the enlightenment of the age. More perhaps than any other thirty years in French history, the years from 1730 to 1760 saw the education of the middle class. The writings favored by the new readers were not the old tomes of the professionally

learned. The new demand was for lightness of touch, for authors who would not make their readers feel ignorant, for information which, while instructive, was also agreeable. A great body of readable literature therefore arose. Sometimes, indeed, legitimate popularizing went to lengths that suggest our own works on progressive education, as in a certain *Système nouveau par lequel on peut devenir savant sans maître, sans étude, et sans peine*, in which, to quote the title page further, reasoning supplanted the teacher, amusement replaced study, and familiar explanations removed the need for effort.¹¹

The items classified as "Social studies" show the new trend. The sudden rise in 1750 of books on education is significant of the new spirit, though this category is so small that no generalization may safely be drawn from it. Geographical works, though hardly increasing in proportion, continued to fascinate many readers, some of whom no doubt continued to think, like Montaigne contemplating the cannibals, that all human customs were relative. The category "Law, politics, and economics" increases less than we might have expected, being only 6.1 per cent of the total in 1760. The change, however, escapes numerical analysis. In the early years of the century the typical works were the acts of the French parlements or intricate treatises, often in Latin, on the laws of the Holy Roman Empire. In the later years there were many more works dealing with the ideal background in the laws of nature and reason. Three developments were taking place here: the penetration into social studies of ideas presumably based on science, the transfer of emphasis from works intelligible only to experts to works which any enlightened person could persuade himself he understood, and the growing belief that existing positive law was not natural or reasonable—that is, the rise of social discontent.

The increase in "Art and letters" between 1740 and 1750 is the largest and most rapid of any recorded in the tables. It is not easy to interpret. It may have been due simply to the policy of the new editor, Berthier, who took charge of the *Journal* in 1746. It includes, moreover, under "Art" for 1750 and 1760 a considerable number of notices of prints and pictures whose artistic merit may be questioned. These prints nevertheless indicate the trend to popular enlightenment. It was possible, by the mid-century, for more people than ever before to have an accurate idea of how unknown persons and distant places looked. And as for the change in editorial policy, since it was meant to make the

¹¹ *Mémoires pour l'histoire des sciences et des beaux arts* [i.e., the *Journal de Trévoux*], 1759, p. 1336.

Journal more popular, it reflects, though with exaggerated suddenness, a change in the reading public.

Literary men, the *gens de lettres*, then took all knowledge for their province. Orators felt that any material might be eloquently treated; poets, in that wholesome preromantic age, entered the world of affairs to find their inspiration. Our category is therefore most extensive. It is especially so after 1730, when general literature absorbed the ideas previously confined to more special fields of thought and enterprise. The best example is Pope's *Essay on Man*, which, in various French translations, spread deistic ideas to many casual readers. There are many others: a formal *Harangue sur le commerce*; a *Poème de l'éducation*; a *Discours latin sur le besoin que l'éloquence a de la philosophie*; a *Poème italien sur l'art d'élever les oiseaux*, which may or may not deal with poultry; a *Discours sur la poésie qui peut être utile aux théologiens*, which would rouse the curiosity of the most lethargic.¹² The "republic of letters" was no hermit kingdom. Its citizens enjoyed a free trade in all available ideas. A host of writers, of whom Voltaire was the greatest, turned the lore of their fathers into the common literature of their contemporaries.

The spirit of the time reveals itself best perhaps in the enthusiasm for the matters that we have called "Practical and technical". It was an age of projects, of new inventions, new methods, new machines. Novelty was not yet commonplace; progress still led only to more convenience. Educated men took pride in their time. Even the Jesuits spoke of "an age so enlightened as ours", and the editors of the *Journal de Trévoux*, reviewing an old-fashioned work on the search for the philosopher's stone, called it "a disgrace to our century".¹³ Like everyone else, they felt that the true method of handling nature had been found.

Since the possibilities seemed to be boundless, it is not to be wondered that some of the proposals were chimerical or useless. Such were projects for perpetual motion, for making sea water potable by removing the salt, and for using spider webs, in place of silk in the weaving of cloth. This last idea the famous naturalist Réaumur consented to investigate in his laboratory. The excitement over new inventions affected the arts also, creating an "ocular harpsichord", which played moving colors along with music, and an "electrical harpsichord", by which electrical phenomena, then being first explored, produced sounds never

¹² *Ibid.*, 1739, pp. 246, 2079; 1740, p. 2430; 1749, pp. 1674, 2452; 1761, p. 1880.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 1719, p. 367. Two other alchemist works are noted: 1711, p. 1055, and 1719, p. 1378.

yet heard by human ear. As a contribution to art neither contrivance enjoyed the slightest success.¹⁴

Yet these same inventive talents were soon to move the world. We find in 1711 a description of a machine for using heat to raise water, which it then dropped in such a way as to turn a wheel—an early harbinger of the industrial revolution.¹⁵ The persistent interest in medicine helped to lay the way for a sudden growth in the population of Western Europe. The increase in books on agriculture reveals a movement toward scientific farming, which at this time was going further in England than in France. The category “Architecture and engineering” hides a variety of noteworthy matters, projects for improving fire apparatus, for moving boats upstream, for supplying Paris with water, and for using asphalt as a natural cement.¹⁶ “Chronometry” reminds us that it was in the eighteenth century that men began to carry watches, “Cartography”, that it was then that they obtained a really distinct idea of the shapes of the continents and oceans. Under “Miscellaneous practical works”, besides the abortive schemes mentioned above, items are to be found on the diverse arts of paper making, dyeing, preserving the surface of paintings, guarding against earthquakes, and teaching deaf mutes to speak.¹⁷ Lastly, we should note the tremendous rise in “Reference books” in 1750. These were the books of organized, abbreviated, digested, and simplified knowledge, important though modest carriers of enlightenment. One of them was not so modest, the *Encyclopédie*.

This brief interpretation of the facts recorded in the tables leaves untouched at least two important questions. One is how accurately the notices in the *Journal de Trévoux* reflect the whole production and circulation of books in France. Were there, for example, in reality more writings against traditional religion than the figures in our category “Popular philosophy” suggest? Did the Jesuit editors exercise a kind of

¹⁴ On perpetual motion, *ibid.*, 1730, p. 1111; on sea water, 1730, p. 167; on spider webs, 1710, p. 823 and 1749, p. 389; on the ocular harpsichord, 1759, p. 342; on the electrical harpsichord, 1761, p. 264. The ocular harpsichord discussed in the *Journal* in 1759 was an English invention. It had been anticipated by a similar instrument designed in the 1730's by the French Jesuit Castel, a frequent contributor to the *Journal de Trévoux*. See *ibid.*, 1735, p. 2796.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 1711, p. 2205. Machines of this kind were already in use. The *Journal* contains various notices of “hydraulic machines”: 1741, p. 1592; 1750, p. 1117; 1751, p. 1931.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, in the order given, 1729, p. 1156; 1729, pp. 1706, 2225; 1739, p. 892; 1722, p. 613.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, in the order named, 1761, p. 3064; 1750, p. 2395; 1751, p. 452; 1761, p. 729; 1760, p. 951.

censorship in choosing books to notice or review? No answer can be given, for no one knows what the total production of all books on all subjects was. The quantity of antireligious writing can never be measured, because some such writings were surreptitious, and much of such writing entered into books chiefly or ostensibly on other subjects. This, however, can be said, that the editors of the *Journal*, far from keeping silence, usually called attention to such writings in the optimistic belief that they would thus neutralize their venom. All the leading *philosophes* are reviewed in the *Journal de Trévoux*. It appears, upon consideration, that the *Journal de Trévoux* indicates as well as any other periodical of the time, and perhaps better, the general state of the book market and the distribution of reading interests. It was directed to no special class or kind of people but to all educated persons in France, over all of whom the Jesuits wished to maintain their influence.

The other question not touched here is the attitude taken by the editors to the works they reviewed. Their purpose was avowedly to protect the Catholic faith. How far did this purpose color the ideas that they set before their readers? This question obviously requires a more intensive study than has been made here. The author believes that the bias was not very marked, or rather that it was so definite and explicit, being an absolute belief in Catholic authority, that on matters where this issue did not specifically arise the editors could be, when compared to Jansenists, *philosophes*, and other enthusiasts of the time, relatively balanced and judicious. For example, as late as 1740 we find them opposed to the cosmology of Newton but not on unreasonable grounds, since they admitted Newton's mathematical conclusions but complained of being unable to understand attraction, the void, and forces that operated through a perfectly empty space.¹⁸ When a clap of thunder occurred on Christmas, 1736, and a rumor spread that the sun had been knocked off its course, the editors of the *Journal* published a reassuring letter in which it was pointed out that, while both Descartes and Newton allowed a readjustment of the sun's position to be possible, no scientific observer had in fact noticed any irregularity.¹⁹ By such means

¹⁸ On Newtonianism, *ibid.*, 1739, pp. 23, 453, 773-87, 1145-53, 2153; 1740, pp. 824, 2193-2209. The reception of Newtonianism by the French Jesuits is a question deserving investigation. Some light is thrown on it in Pierre Brunet, *L'introduction des théories de Newton en France au XVIII^e siècle* (Paris, 1931), I, 20-21, 93, 104-107, 148-49. The first volume of this work goes only to 1738; the second, though promised, has not yet appeared. For the reception of Cartesianism see Emmy Allard, *Die Angriffe gegen Descartes und Malebranche im Journal de Trévoux, 1701-1715* (Halle, 1914).

¹⁹ *Journal de Trévoux*, 1737, pp. 692-706.

they instilled the fundamental idea of the time, the belief in uniform laws of nature. In 1751, reviewing the *Encyclopédie*, they noted certain plagiarisms which had to be acknowledged and so provoked the wrath of the *philosophes*, but their general judgment was by no means unfavorable, and they encouraged Diderot and his colleagues to proceed.²⁰ The outcries of the *philosophes* must not be taken too seriously. All critical reviews then had trouble with authors. Criticism was not yet distinct from polemics, and authors, more than now, expected to be praised.

The antagonism became more definite after 1750. The *philosophes* became more bold, and the defenders of religion more suspicious of the enlightened ideas. This new departure is reflected in the increase between 1750 and 1760 of works classified as "Applied religion", which include sermons, devotional manuals, episcopal letters, etc., calculated to protect the faithful against the perils of the age. But in the early period the line was less sharply drawn. So far as we mean by the "enlightenment" of the eighteenth century something other than overt denial of the authority of the church, we must conclude that up to 1750 the Catholic authorities did little to hinder it, that this enlightenment was a general spread of ideas in which persons of many kinds took an active and willing part, and that the Jesuit *Journal de Trévoux* may well have been one of its agents.

ROBERT R. PALMER.

Princeton University.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 1751, pp. 303-27, 569-78, 708-37, 2250-95, 2592-2623; 1752, pp. 146-89, 296-322, 424-69, and in following years.

DEWEY AND THE GERMANS AT MANILA BAY

SHORTLY after the outbreak of the Spanish-American War Commodore George Dewey, in command of the United States Asiatic squadron, left the coast of China for Manila Bay and there, on May 1, 1898, completely destroyed the Spanish fleet. Although the city lay at the mercy of his guns, he could not hope to capture the land fortifications until troop reinforcements arrived from the United States. Meanwhile he found it necessary to establish a blockade of the bay in order to prevent succor from reaching the enemy. These restrictions resulted in misunderstandings with the commander of the German fleet, and reports of what happened, both factual and fictitious, had such an important bearing on subsequent German-American and British-American relations that it seems desirable to re-examine the developments at Manila in the light of important new evidence.¹

At the outset it must be borne in mind that Dewey was in a difficult position. First of all he had to be on constant guard against possible mine or torpedo attacks from the surviving officers and men of the defeated squadron. In addition he knew that the Spanish government was preparing a superior fleet under Admiral Cámara, who finally left Cadiz on June 16 for the Philippines. To meet this threat Dewey had an inadequate force and a seriously depleted supply of ammunition; and despite his urgent appeals the Navy Department seemed to be assembling reinforcements with great deliberation. The strain on Dewey's

¹ This article is concerned primarily with the actual happenings at Manila Bay and their results rather than with the larger aspects of German policy, a subject that has been treated by L. B. Shippee, "Germany and the Spanish-American War", *American Historical Review*, XXX (1925), 754-77; J. Fred Rippy, "The European Powers and the Spanish-American War", *James Sprunt Historical Studies*, Vol. XIX (1927), no. 2, pp. 22-52; and Alfred Vagts, *Deutschland und die Vereinigten Staaten in der Weltpolitik* (New York, 1935), II, ch. 12. See also *Die grosse Politik der europäischen Kabinette, 1871-1914*, edited by Johannes Lepsius *et al.* (Berlin, 1922-27), XV, 3-105. Admiral Arno Spindler of the Kriegswissenschaftliche Abteilung der Marine, Berlin, generously made the entire file of relevant German documents available to the writer. Except for the logs of the German ships (photostatic copies of which were secured through Admiral Spindler), they are contained in bound manuscript volumes entitled "Kriegsführung zwischen Amerika und Spanien" (Cap. II, Litr. Am., No. 11a) and will hereafter be referred to by the volume number only. Through the courtesy of the secretary of the British Admiralty transcripts of all relevant British naval documents were obtained. Mr. George Dewey, son of Admiral George Dewey, graciously permitted the writer to examine his father's private papers, some of which are now in the Dewey Papers at the Library of Congress.

nerves was further increased by the absence of cable communication, for it normally took about a week to send a ship to Hong Kong and receive a telegraphic reply from Washington. Moreover, the Filipino insurgents, under Aguinaldo, were attacking Manila, and it was necessary to keep them from getting out of hand, while encouraging them to continue their pressure against the enemy. As if all this were not enough, the danger of an epidemic of disease in the fleet was great and the heat almost intolerable. Dewey deserves credit for having kept his head as well as he did.²

On May 2, the day after the historic naval battle, a British gunboat, the *Linnet*, arrived in the bay, and during the ensuing weeks varying numbers of British, German, French, Japanese, and Austro-Hungarian warships entered or left the harbor. Since the city was subject to immediate bombardment and was being attacked by semi-civilized Filipinos, it was both necessary and proper for the neutral powers to have men-of-war at hand to protect their nationals and to evacuate them in the event of imminent danger.³

The *Linnet* was reinforced on May 8 by the armored cruiser *Immortalité*, commanded by Captain Edward Chichester, who became senior British officer. During most of the month of May and part of June Great Britain had the strongest neutral force in the Philippines—the two vessels mentioned and three gunboats in addition. This caused no concern in the United States, for the British were the heaviest foreign investors in the island, and, disturbed by the growing rivalry with Germany, they were conspicuously friendly to the Americans. The Germans were represented by the second-class cruiser *Irene* and the third-class cruiser *Cormoran*, which, in response to an order issued by the kaiser on April 28 to protect German nationals in the Philippines,

² A good picture of Dewey's difficulties, though inaccurate in some details, appears in the *Autobiography of George Dewey* (New York, 1913), pp. 234-82. The portions of this book that relate to operations in the Philippines are based on a manuscript prepared under Dewey's direction by Commander Nathan Sargent and entitled "The Preparations at Hong Kong, Battle of Manila Bay, Enforcement of Blockade, and Operations Resulting in the Surrender of Manila" (hereinafter cited as Dewey-Sargent Manuscript). On November 10, 1904, Dewey attested with his signature his approval of the contents. Dewey Papers, Library of Congress. In letters to his son Dewey repeatedly complained of the heat, writing on one occasion that the temperature rarely dropped below 90°. Dewey to George Dewey, June 30, 1898, Dewey Private Collection, Chicago.

³ The commander of the *Linnet* reported that the single ship under his command "would probably be inadequate to afford efficient protection on shore". Smythe to Commodore Holland (Hong Kong), May 5, 1898, China Letters, 1898, British Admiralty.

had arrived on May 6 and May 9, respectively.⁴ Several days later Prince Henry of Prussia, then in the Far East, and the German consul at Manila telegraphed the foreign office in Berlin that, according to the information they had received, the Filipinos might welcome a German protectorate. Foreign Secretary Bülow thereupon suggested to the kaiser that a naval officer of high rank, Vice-Admiral Otto von Diederichs, be sent to Manila, where he could observe the situation at first hand and report on the sentiment and position of the natives.⁵ The kaiser gave his approval, but it was not until June 2 that the following orders were cabled to Diederichs, who was then refitting at Nagasaki, Japan:

His Majesty the Emperor and King orders the Commander of the Squadron to proceed to Manila in order to form personally an opinion on the Spanish situation, mood of natives, and foreign influence upon the political changes. I shall leave it to you to travel either with the "Kaiser" [flagship] or by mail steamer and have the "Kaiser" follow later on. Also protect with the Squadron German interests in the West-Caroline Islands, Palaos Islands. Send a ship [there] as soon as the Americans do the same.⁶

An examination of the German naval records reveals that no further orders were dispatched to Diederichs from Berlin.⁷ The published correspondence of the foreign office indicates that, from the standpoint of international politics, the German fleet was sent to Manila, not to interfere with the Americans, but to strengthen the position of Germany with reference to acquiring the Philippines in the event that the United States should decide not to annex them.⁸

On June 12 the German vice-admiral, having left the *Kaiser* to join

⁴ Summary of ship movements in commanding admiral (Berlin) to foreign office (copy), Aug. 20, 1898, Band 3a. See also Admiral Otto von Diederichs, "Darstellung der Vorgänge vor Manila von Mai bis August 1898", *Marine Rundschau*, XXV (Mar., 1914), 253 (hereinafter cited as Diederichs, "Darstellung der Vorgänge").

⁵ *Grosse Politik*, XV, 34-35.

⁶ Commanding admiral to Diederichs, June 2, 1898, Band 1.

⁷ On July 12 Diederichs informed Captain Chichester that he had received no orders from home since leaving Nagasaki. Chichester to Holland, July 14, 1898, China Letters, 1898. This report is published in *British Documents on the Origins of the War, 1898-1914*, edited by G. P. Gooch and Harold Temperley (London, 1927), I, 105-107. On July 19 the German foreign office informed the commanding admiral, in Berlin, that judging from the documents available there was no reason "to give political instructions to the chief of the squadron [Diederichs]". This would indicate that, up to this time at least, none had been sent. Richthofen to commanding admiral, July 19, 1898, Band 2. Diederichs, himself, later wrote that he had received no political instructions and only one order of a military nature from his immediate superior—"to maintain the strictest neutrality". Diederichs, "Darstellung der Vorgänge", p. 257.

⁸ Shippee, *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXX, 774; Vagts, II, 1327.

him later, arrived at Manila on the first-class cruiser *Kaiserin Augusta*. The beleaguered Spaniards were greatly heartened by the presence of this distinguished officer, who outranked Dewey, and it was widely rumored in Manila that he had come to take sides against the Americans. Although Diederichs attempted to discourage these wholly groundless reports, the Spaniards continued to regard the Germans as more friendly than the other neutrals and paid marked attention to them.⁹ On or about June 24 the Spanish governor general went so far as to propose to Diederichs that the neutral powers take over Manila *in deposito*, but the German commander, pleading lack of instructions and the American blockade, refused to have anything to do with the offer.¹⁰

Dewey was naturally displeased with the improvement of Spanish morale which had resulted from the arrival of the *Kaiserin Augusta* on June 12.¹¹ American relations with Germany had not been particularly cordial since the Samoan imbroglio of the eighties, and Dewey's suspicions of the Germans had already been aroused by several unfortunate incidents at Hong Kong and by the unwillingness of the German ships at Manila to respect his blockade.¹² Nor could he have failed to realize that the ultimate disposition of the Philippines was in doubt, that the Germans were on the lookout for colonies, and that their squadron at

⁹ Several purely accidental developments that gave rise to the false Spanish hopes are described in commander of *Irene* (Obenheimer) to Diederichs, May 17, 1898, Band 2; Diederichs to commanding admiral, June 25, 1898, Band 3a. Chichester reported that the Spaniards were "elated" by the arrival of the Germans and suspicious of the British. Chichester to Holland, May 12, June 16, June 23, 1898, China Letters, 1898.

¹⁰ Diederichs to commanding admiral (telegram, Hong Kong), June 27, 1898, Band 2. See also *Grosse Politik*, XV, 44, 55-56. Diederichs's explanatory dispatch differs somewhat from the cablegram and indicates that the governor general proposed to offer a Spanish protectorate to the Filipinos; that they were to lay down their arms; and that the Germans were to take over the arms and guarantee a fulfillment of Spanish promises. Diederichs replied that he had no instructions to take such a step and that if it were undertaken all the neutrals would have to participate. Diederichs to commanding admiral, June 25, 1898, Band 3a.

¹¹ As late as November 10, 1898, the United States chargé in Berlin complained to a "high" official in the foreign office that it was "almost certain" that Spanish resistance had been prolonged by the hope of assistance which had resulted from the presence of the German fleet. Jackson to Day, Nov. 10, 1898, Dispatches, Germany, LXVII. (All Department of State records for this period have been transferred to the National Archives.)

¹² Misunderstanding with the Germans at Hong Kong is described in Dewey's *Autobiography*, pp. 181-85, which omits a few details that appear in the Dewey-Sargent Manuscript. Both accounts indicate, however, that amicable relations were restored. See also the story in the *New York Tribune*, June 2, 1898. For Dewey's early difficulties with the Germans over the blockade see Dewey, *Autobiography*, pp. 254-56.

Manila was commanded by a forceful officer who had become something of a hero in Germany as a result of his occupation of Kiao-chau in 1897.¹³ On the day of Diederichs's arrival, therefore, Dewey sent this cablegram to the Navy Department, in which he described the general situation as regards the insurgents and made his first reference to the Germans: "The German Commander-in-Chief arrived today. Three German, two British, one French, one Japanese man-of-war, now in port; another German man-of-war is expected. I request the departure of the *Monadnock* and the *Monterey* may be expedited."¹⁴ Although a hasty reading of this message suggests that Dewey was urging reinforcements primarily because of a German threat, his private correspondence reveals that at this time he was much more concerned about the approaching Spanish fleet.¹⁵ It should also be observed that his own force of six cruisers and two smaller craft was probably more than a match for the three German men-of-war then in the harbor.

Late in the month of June the picture was changed by the arrival of two additional German cruisers, the *Kaiser* (June 18) and the *Prinzess Wilhelm* (June 20). The presence of Diederichs had caused considerable misgivings in American quarters, and the increase of the fleet to five ships was a mistake. The augmented force was not only out of all proportion to the German commercial stake in the Philippines, but it was so much stronger than Dewey's squadron as to be regarded by the Americans as a grave discourtesy.¹⁶ Diederichs later explained the gathering of the five cruisers at Manila as due to the necessity of meet-

¹³ White to Day, June 18, 1898, Dispatches, Germany, LXVI.

¹⁴ Dewey to Secretary of Navy (telegram), June 17, 1898 (Hong Kong; June 12, Cavite), Ciphers Received, No. 2, Navy Department, Washington, D. C.

¹⁵ See Edwin Wildman, "What Dewey Feared in Manila Bay", *Forum*, LIX (May, 1918), 518-19. In the Dewey-Sargent Manuscript Dewey states, with memory perhaps a bit clouded by the events of the intervening six years, that he had the Germans definitely in mind. He also expressed the belief that they had instructions to goad him into some overt act of which they could take advantage.

¹⁶ The figures for 1896 and 1897, the most satisfactory available, indicate that Germany ranked sixth among the foreign nations in imports from the Philippines, while Great Britain was first. In exports to the islands Great Britain was first, with three times the trade of Germany, which occupied second place. Bureau of Statistics, Treasury Department, *Monthly Summary of Commerce and Finance of the United States* (Washington, 1899), p. 1315. On the basis of tonnage and weight of metal the German fleet was perhaps 20 per cent stronger than Dewey's. Diederichs's flagship, the *Kaiser*, was the only ship of the armored class in either fleet. It had a displacement of 7531 tons and the *Kaiserin Augusta*, 6331 tons, as compared with Dewey's largest ship, the *Olympia* (5800 tons). T. A. Brassey, ed., *The Naval Annual, 1898* (Portsmouth, 1898), pp. 300, 303, 341-43.

ing a relief ship.¹⁷ It is not necessary, however, to analyze the German explanations to conclude that the presence of this unnecessarily powerful force led to a misconstruction of Diederichs's intentions.¹⁸

Meanwhile public opinion in the United States had become definitely disturbed by the presence of the German fleet at Manila. From time to time an occasional item had appeared in the press referring to the friendly relations between the Spaniards and the Germans and to the attempts of the latter to disregard Dewey's blockade. But not until the report reached the United States that Diederichs had been ordered to Manila did the press evidence anything like widespread solicitude.¹⁹ On June 13 the German ambassador in Washington, Theodor von Holleben, cabled the foreign office that the news had made an unfortunate impression.²⁰ Five days later the Navy Department published Dewey's cablegram announcing the arrival of Diederichs and requesting that the monitors be expedited. This added to the public disquietude, as did the increase of the German squadron to five ships. But such interest as there was quickly faded away, for the main preoccupation was with operations in Cuban waters.²¹

Late in June Dewey began to show more anxiety about Diederichs's force. Admiral Cámara was approaching the Suez Canal (he arrived on June 26); the Germans were maintaining cordial relations with the French naval force in the bay; and they were apparently fraternizing

¹⁷ Diederichs, "Darstellung der Vorgänge", pp. 253-54. See also *Grosse Politik*, XV, 40; *Brit. Documents*, I, 106.

¹⁸ Diederichs repeatedly noted in his official reports that the presence of so many German ships was a mistake. As early as June 25 he expressed the hope that the sending away of a part of his squadron would quiet the anti-German rumors. He also stated that the presence of a commanding officer of his high rank was unfortunate. Diederichs to commanding admiral, June 25 (Band 3a), Aug. 2, Aug. 9, 1898 (Band 3b).

¹⁹ The following newspapers were examined in connection with this study: *New York Herald*, *New York Journal*, *New York World*, *New York Times*, *Chicago Tribune*, *Chicago Record*, and *London Times*. The symposia published in the *Literary Digest* and *Public Opinion* proved useful. New England sentiment is emphasized in Clara Eve Schieber, *The Transformation of American Sentiment toward Germany, 1870-1914* (Boston, 1923), ch. 3.

²⁰ *Grosse Politik*, XV, 40. See also Holleben's dispatch of June 17, 1898, *ibid.*, pp. 40-42.

²¹ See particularly *New York Herald*, June 18, 1898; *Public Opinion*, XV (July 7, 1898), 7-8. One explanation of the lack of interest in the Germans at Manila is that Dewey placed the newspaper correspondents attached to the fleet on their honor not to give a sensational interpretation to the happenings and thus make his position more difficult. John Barrett (one of the correspondents in question), "Admiral George Dewey", *Harper's Monthly Magazine*, XCIX (Oct., 1899), 806-807. Some of the German newspapers resented American criticism of Diederichs's strong force. See Vagts, II, 1332.

with the Spaniards.²² The German squadron in its comings and goings was evincing a disposition to ignore the American blockade, especially at night; and several disagreeable incidents occurred, such as firing over German ships to bring them to a stop.²³ Diederichs maintained, then and later, that since no blockade had been announced in the conventional manner, there was no blockade. Nevertheless he reported that such restrictions as existed were very considerate of neutrals and that he was taking every precaution to avoid irritating Dewey and causing him to become more exacting.²⁴ Diederichs may have been sincere in declaring that he was doing his best to keep on good relations with the Americans, yet the simple fact is that he did not succeed in doing so. If the German vice-admiral had been more willing to yield form to expediency in the matter of the blockade, if he had not been conscious of the superiority of his fleet, and if he had entertained more respect for American discipline and fighting prowess, he probably would not have given the Americans so definite an impression that he was deliberately trying to flout their authority.²⁵

The growing tension came to a head early in July. At that time the Filipino insurgents, tacit allies of Dewey, were attacking a Spanish force at Isla Grande, in Subic Bay. The German cruiser *Irene* arrived and, for what its commander claimed were humanitarian reasons, began to evacuate some of the noncombatants.²⁶ Informed of this apparent

²² Diederichs referred at some length to his relations with the French commander in his report of August 28, 1898, Band 4. The present writer's request to examine the French naval documents elicited the reply that they were not open beyond 1870. Such intercourse as there was between the Germans and the Spaniards probably would not have excited undue comment had it not been for the international situation and the rumors of German intervention.

²³ Dewey's *Autobiography*, pp. 252-67. On July 9 Chichester reported that the German ships had been constantly leaving and arriving at Manila at night and burning searchlights and "making flashing signals" between the ships at Manila and those approaching from Mariveles. "Their ways", he added, "are certainly mysterious, but the American officials look on the same as a 'game of Bluff'." Chichester to Holland, July 9, 1898, China Letters, 1898. The covering report of Vice-Admiral Seymour stated: "The proceedings of the German Ships in the Philippines, regardless of the wishes and interests of the United States Admiral, are certainly a breach of courtesy towards him, if not indeed more serious." Seymour to secretary of admiralty, July 30, 1898, *ibid*. The reports of Chichester and of his superiors at Hong Kong indicate that the British were annoyed by the attitude of the Germans toward the Americans. See particularly Chichester to Holland, July 25, 1898, *ibid*.

²⁴ Diederichs to commanding admiral, June 27, 1898 (telegram, Band 2), July 7, 1898 (Band 3a); July 25, Aug. 9, 1898 (Band 3b).

²⁵ Diederichs reported unfavorably on American marksmanship and discipline. To commanding admiral, Aug. 28, 1898, Band 4.

²⁶ Commander of *Irene* (Obenheimer) to Diederichs, July 7, 1898, Band 3a.

interference in behalf of the enemy, Dewey dispatched the *Raleigh* and the *Concord* to end German intervention. When the American ships entered the bay on July 7 they passed the *Irene*, which was leaving, and nothing happened. Dewey believed, or professed to believe, that when the Germans saw the American ships approaching they slipped their cable and hurried out.²⁷ But the log of the *Irene* and the lengthy report of her commander indicate that the possibility of hostilities with the Americans was not even considered.²⁸

Dewey promptly telegraphed the following report of the *Irene* incident to the Navy Department:

Aguinaldo informed me his troops had taken all of Subic Bay except Isla Grande, which they were prevented from taking by the German man-of-war 'Irene.' On July 7th sent the 'Raleigh' and the 'Concord' there; they took the island and about 1,300 men, with arms and ammunition. No resistance. The 'Irene' retired from the bay on their arrival.²⁹

The Navy Department gave the telegram to the press on July 13, the day it was received. The suggestion that the Germans were trying to interfere with Dewey's conquest of the Philippines aroused a flurry of excitement in the American press—the greatest, in fact, created by any of the misunderstandings arising between Dewey and the Germans. It was even rumored on both sides of the Atlantic that the American commander was attempting to conceal the extreme gravity of the situation.³⁰ But public interest soon shifted from far-away Manila to the more exciting events connected with the surrender of Santiago, in Cuba.

²⁷ At the meetings of the General Board at Newport, Rhode Island, during 1902 and 1903, Dewey excitedly related how he sent two of his smaller ships so that the *Irene* would not avoid a fight if looking for one. Statement of Lieut. Col. L. C. Lucas, Jan. 30, 1930, File 00, Naval Records and Library, Navy Department, Washington, D. C. See also Dewey-Sargent Manuscript.

²⁸ The log of the *Irene* has this matter-of-fact entry for July 7, 1898: "7.10 American cruiser Raleigh and gunboat Concord passed by" (Kriegswissenschaftliche Abteilung der Marine, Berlin). At the end of his nineteen-page report the commander of the *Irene* casually mentions the arrival of the American ships (Obenheimer to Diederichs, July 7, 1898, Band 3a). If the Germans had anticipated trouble with the Americans, they would undoubtedly have taken precautions, and this fact would have been recorded in the log. The *Raleigh* cleared for action before meeting the *Irene*; the *Concord* after. Since the Americans attacked the Spaniards upon arriving, this would indicate that their preparations were not made for the Germans. The *Concord* otherwise would have cleared for action earlier (logs of *Concord* and *Raleigh*, July 7, 1898, Bureau of Navigation, Navy Department).

²⁹ Dewey to Secretary of Navy (telegram), July 13, 1898 (Hong Kong), Ciphers Received, No. 2.

³⁰ New York *Journal*, July 14, 1898; New York *Herald*, July 14, 15, 16, 19, 1898; London *Times*, July 15, 16, 1898; *Literary Digest*, XVII (July 23, 1898), 91-93.

News of the developments at Manila following the *Irene* incident came to the American public largely through rumor and exaggeration. Thoroughly aroused by the conduct of the Germans, Dewey sent Flag-Lieutenant Thomas M. Brumby to Diederichs later on that same day, July 7, with a summation of American grievances growing out of alleged infractions of the blockade. The vice-admiral expressed surprise on learning of these incidents, which is not remarkable when one notes that there is no mention of some of them in his very detailed reports or in those of his subordinates. Diederichs, according to Brumby, "disclaimed *any intention of interfering in the least with Admiral Dewey's operations* and said he would as far as possible avoid all movements of his ships etc. at night—that Admiral Dewey had conducted the blockade in the mildest way possible and he did not want to embaarrass [*sic*] him in the slightest." At the conclusion of his report Brumby added: "The Admiral was most polite. He repeated his statement that he did not wish to interfere in any way with Admiral Dewey's operations, and I was convinced of his sincerity and personal probity."³¹

On July 10, three days later, Diederichs sent Flag-Lieutenant Hintze to Dewey with a verbal explanation of the complaints that had been presented by Brumby. Hintze was also instructed to refer to the fact that the *Irene*, on June 27, had been improperly stopped and boarded by the United States revenue cutter, *McCulloch*, off Corregidor. This was too much for Dewey, who, according to Hintze's report, cried out:

"Why, I shall stop each vessel whatever may be her colors! And if she does not stop I shall fire at her! And that means war, do you know, Sir? And I tell you if Germany wants war, all right, we are ready. With the English I have not the slightest difficulty, they always communicate with me, etc." Admiral Dewey became more and more excited.

When the phrases: "If Germany wants war," etc., began to recur the flaglieutenant [Hintze] left.³²

³¹ Typewritten report of Brumby, dated July 7, 1898, Dewey File, Naval Records and Library. The italics are Brumby's. Diederichs's report to the commanding admiral is dated July 14, 1898, Band 3a. Diederichs gives the date of Brumby's visit as July 8, but the 7th is confirmed by the log of the *Olympia*, Dewey's flagship. Captain Edward L. Beach, who was then a lieutenant on the *Baltimore*, remarked to the present writer (Dec. 21, 1938) that the difficulties at Manila were largely due to the fact that the Germans had no naval tradition and lacked "sea manners".

³² Diederichs (countersigned by Hintze) to commanding admiral, July 14, 1898, Band 3a. A part of this conversation appears in *Grosse Politik*, XV, 62, n. In 1904 Dewey described the scene as follows in the Dewey-Sargent Manuscript:

"Do you want war with us?" asked the Admiral impressively.

"Certainly not," replied the German.

"Well, it looks like it, and you are very near it; and"—his voice rising in pitch and

Diederichs, who fortunately realized that Dewey was laboring under a great strain, appears not to have been unduly disturbed by this outburst and took no immediate action.³³ By the next day, July 11, Dewey had apparently recovered himself, and he replied by letter to Hintze's inquiries regarding the *Irene*, insisting that as commander of the blockading squadron he had a right, in the case of any vessel, to make "such inquiries as are necessary to establish her identity". Diederichs interpreted this as meaning that Dewey was going so far as to claim the *droit de visite* with respect to men-of-war. He thereupon communicated with the commanders of the other neutral squadrons in order to ascertain their interpretation of this point. Those who gave definite replies—and this included Captain Chichester—agreed that the ordinary rules of visit and search did not apply to men-of-war, even in a blockade. The tension was relieved on July 14 when Dewey wrote that by "inquiries" to "establish identity" he did not necessarily mean visit and search but rather the ordinary means of communication between vessels.³⁴ With this clarification Diederichs apparently abandoned his efforts to interest the other neutral commanders and eventually went so far as to concede that Dewey might board his ships at night when identification was otherwise difficult.³⁵

The week following the *Irene* incident, July 7 to 14, was undoubtedly the most critical period in the controversy between Dewey and the Germans. Diederichs issued explicit orders to the captains of his ships to repel, by force if necessary, any attempt on the part of the Americans to board them, except at night.³⁶ If Dewey had attempted to exercise at this time the right that he apparently claimed, he would have been fired

intensity until it could be heard in the officers' quarters below—"and you can have it, sir, as soon as you like."

The German backed in consternation away from the Admiral, and in an awed voice said to Lieutenant Brumby, "Your Admiral seems to be much in earnest."

"Yes," replied Brumby, "and you can be certain that he means every word he says."

The Hintze account is the only one the writer has found that was set down immediately after the incident. All the numerous versions, some of which emanated from men present, agree that Dewey threatened war.

³³ Diederichs to commanding admiral, July 14, 1898, Band 3a.

³⁴ The correspondence between Diederichs and the neutral commanders appears in summary form or enclosures in *ibid.* Diederichs's report squares with that of Chichester, who wrote (July 14) that visits to establish nationality were "quite legitimate" but that ordinary search was "inadmissible and resentable". *Brit. Documents*, I, 106. There were also difficulties between the Germans and the Americans over the blockade of Cuba. See Vagts, II, 1351, n.

³⁵ Diederichs to commanding admiral, Aug. 9, 1898, Band 3b.

³⁶ Diederichs to cruiser commanders, July 11, 1898 (copy), Band 3a.

on. And there can be no doubt that he was in a mood to fight back.³⁷ Yet it seems unlikely that with his inferior force and other handicaps he would have provoked hostilities. Diederichs apparently did not fear serious developments, for on July 9, two days after the Subic Bay incident and one day before Dewey's outburst, the *Irene* left the Philippines. It is also significant that Captain Chichester, in reporting the difficulty, referred to it as "a slight case of friction".³⁸

The attitude of Chichester throughout this period appears to have had a quieting effect on the situation. Although the British maintained a strict neutrality during the war, there could be no doubt that their sympathies lay with the Americans and that they viewed with suspicion the activities of the Germans in Philippine waters.³⁹ Chichester was under orders to pursue a neutral course, and, although he apparently did not depart from the strict letter of his instructions, he and his men maintained most cordial personal relations with the Americans—a situation displeasing to the German commander.⁴⁰ It was widely rumored, as Diederichs probably knew, that in the event of a clash between Dewey and the Germans, the British would be ranged on the side of the Americans.⁴¹ Whatever the basis for these reports—and there appears to have been none—American morale was undoubtedly improved by the presence of the British and by their sympathetic attitude. Chichester's generally correct course at this time won the warm com-

³⁷ Suspecting the worst of German intentions, Dewey had already worked out a plan for engaging the superior German force, as any prudent commander would have done in the circumstances, but with less prudence he had discussed it in the presence of newspaper correspondents (John Barrett, *Admiral George Dewey* [New York, 1899], pp. 103, 130 ff.; Oscar King Davis, *Released for Publication* [Boston, 1925], pp. 12-13). Frederick Palmer, who ghosted Dewey's *Autobiography*, remembers that this is one of the two things that Dewey wanted omitted. The other was what he had told Hintze. (Conversation with writer, Mar. 25, 1937.) Dewey said to the French admiral, when the latter was about to leave Manila, that he had made one mistake—"I should have sunk that squadron over there"—pointing to the Germans" (Dewey-Sargent Manuscript).

³⁸ *Brit. Documents*, I, 105.

³⁹ On June 26 Dewey cabled (from Cavite): "The British Consul informed me today he has orders to telegraph in cipher his Government movements of the German men-of-war in the Philippines." Dewey to Secretary of Navy (telegram), July 1, 1898 (Hong Kong), Ciphers Received, No. 2. The present writer was informed by Sir Stephen Gaselee, head librarian of the British foreign office, that the British consul did not officially report anything relevant to German-American friction.

⁴⁰ Chichester to Holland, May 20, 1898, China Letters, 1898; Diederichs to commanding admiral, Aug. 28, 1898, Band 4.

⁴¹ One reporter related that when Diederichs asked Chichester what he would do if the Germans interfered with the Americans, the latter replied "There is but one man who knows what I would do, and his name is Dewey" (New York *Tribune*, July 20, 1898). This story was widely circulated.

mendation of his superior at Hong Kong, and, in January, 1899, the Order of St. Michael and St. George.⁴²

Diederichs repeatedly complained that Captain Chichester and other British officers, as well as the British consul, were circulating vicious anti-German rumors and that the English newspapers of Eastern Asia picked up these reports and embroidered them.⁴³ There was doubtless much substance to this charge.⁴⁴ Though the European press, particularly that of Germany, gave loud warning that British propagandists were poisoning the wells of German-American amity, and though American newspapers advised their readers to make due allowances, there can be no doubt that these colored or false reports had considerable influence on opinion in the United States.⁴⁵

It is also to be noted that during these months a number of German newspapers were outspoken in their desire for the Philippines and in their dislike of the Americans. The British republished many such statements,⁴⁶ which in turn found their way through the Associated Press and other channels into the American journals, thus providing a lurid background for Diederichs's activities.⁴⁷ The Germans complained bitterly, but without effect, of this practice; and the American ambas-

⁴² London *Gazette*, Jan. 10, 1899. Vice-Admiral E. H. Seymour, commander-in-chief, China (Hong Kong), concurred "in the opinion expressed by Commodore Holland as to the very zealous, tactful, and efficient way in which Captain Sir Edward Chichester has carried out his duties. . . . Not only did Captain Chichester well maintain British interests, but I have reason to know that he was looked up to and consulted by Foreign Officers, and greatly contributed at times to the soothing of excited feelings" (Seymour to secretary of admiralty, Sept. 8, 1898, China Letters, 1898).

⁴³ To commanding admiral, July 14, 1898 (Band 3a); July 25, Aug. 2, Aug. 9, 1898 (Band 3b). In one of his last reports Diederichs recommended that the Germans buy a Far Eastern newspaper for the purpose of counteracting British propaganda. To commanding admiral, Aug. 28, 1898, Band 4.

⁴⁴ Vice-Admiral Seymour admitted that the Hong Kong press contributed to German-American misunderstanding (to secretary of admiralty, June 30, 1898, China Letters, 1898). Diederichs quotes a letter from Dewey (April 16, 1899) in which the latter states that their differences were of "newspaper manufacture" ("Darstellung der Vorgänge", p. 278).

⁴⁵ The Shanghai *Mercury*, whose reporter claimed to represent the London *Central News*, printed a story about the Germans "slobbering over the Spanish" so false that Joseph Stickney, Manila correspondent of the New York *Herald*, warned his readers to be on their guard (New York *Herald*, June 4, 1898); see also another warning from Stickney (*ibid.*, July 19).

⁴⁶ See the London *Times*, June 4, 13, 15, July 2, 4, 7, 8, 15, 1898.

⁴⁷ New York *Herald*, May 3, 5, 12, 13, June 15, 16, 18, 20, 29, July 1, 1898; New York *Tribune*, May 13, June 12, 1898.

sador in Berlin, Andrew D. White, repeatedly advised the Department of State to be on its guard.⁴⁸

Following the mid-July crisis at Manila, all danger of a clash seems to have passed.⁴⁹ Dewey's position was considerably strengthened by the destruction of Cervera's squadron off Santiago on July 3 and by Cámara's recall from Suez on July 5. The first American transports had arrived on June 30 and with them the cruiser *Charleston*, which strengthened Dewey's fleet and brought much-needed ammunition. The departure of the *Irene* on July 9 reduced the German squadron to four ships, and the second contingent of American troops reached Manila on July 17. The third arrived on July 31, and on August 4 the powerful monitor *Monterey*, with two twelve-inch and two ten-inch guns, steamed into the harbor. Dewey felt stronger than the Germans for the first time since their fleet had been augmented.⁵⁰

All these developments contributed to an improvement of the atmosphere at Manila. Diederichs made virtually no references to the Americans in his lengthy reports, except to complain of the machinations of the British and to note that the attitude of the German officers and men toward the Americans was "formal but not unfriendly".⁵¹ Personal intercourse between Diederichs and Dewey developed in-

⁴⁸ White reported that the "English journals and news agencies" had been ready to circulate and develop "everything which could arouse prejudice in the United States against Germany, and that one of them, on at least one occasion, resorted to the invention of fictitious news for this purpose" (to Day, Aug. 12, 1898, Dispatches, Germany, LXVI). Secretary of State Day also tried to counteract these rumors (Rippy, *Sprunt Hist. Studies*, XIX, 31, n.; Vagts, II, 1330 ff.). See the complaint of Holleben (*Grosse Politik*, XV, 40-42).

⁴⁹ On July 26 Dewey cabled from Cavite: "Hope monitor [*Monterey*] will be here before the surrender [of Manila] to prevent possible interference by the Germans" (Dewey to Secretary of Navy, July 26, 1898 [July 30 from Hong Kong], Ciphers Received, No. 2). It is unlikely that Dewey was as seriously concerned about the Germans at this late date as the telegram suggests; it is more probable that he was using the German menace as a means of hastening the *Monterey*, which he needed for reducing the defenses of the city. His private letters to Consul General Wildman, at Hong Kong, reveal that he was relieved by the improvement of relations with the Germans. Wildman, *Forum*, LIX, 513-35.

⁵⁰ Dewey, *Autobiography*, p. 272. The other monitor, the *Monadnock*, arrived on August 16. Diederichs learned that Chichester expressed satisfaction at her arrival and that the British commander and Dewey both regarded the reinforced American fleet as stronger than that of the Germans (Diederichs to commanding admiral, Aug. 28, 1898, Band 4).

⁵¹ Same to same, July 25, 1898 (Band 3b); July 30, 1898 (telegram, Band 2); Aug. 9, 1898 (Band 3b).

creased cordiality, and the latter told the German consul that reports of friction were largely lies.⁵² The German commander was apparently trying to be conciliatory, and he even advised his superiors against entertaining any hope of acquiring the Philippines.⁵³

The Department of State appears to have been cognizant of this changed atmosphere. In fact, one of the most surprising things about the whole episode is the apparent lack of concern in official Washington. It was not until July 22, more than a month after Diederichs had arrived at Manila and about ten days after the *Irene* excitement had flared up and died down, that the Department of State sent to Ambassador White, in Berlin, its only instruction relating to the German fleet. This was as follows:

Personal and confidential. German Ambassador made a friendly call on President today. All indications seem favorable to good relations. Presence of so large a German fleet at Manila is the subject of much comment in the press and among our people. Can you give us your view as to whether it is intended to keep fleet at Manila, and whether it is likely to be recalled or reduced, without making embarrassing inquiries, official or otherwise?⁵⁴

This, it will be observed, was far from being a protest.

Eight days later, on July 30, White was able to report the result of a conference with the acting minister for foreign affairs, Baron von Richthofen.

He declared, with every appearance of sincerity, that the only reason for sending the five ships originally and for retaining the three [four] ships in that harbor now has been that, the reason for their remaining at Kiao Chou having ceased, public opinion here as well as at Manila earnestly insisted on a demonstration that Germany intends fully to protect her subjects; that there is not a word of truth in the statement that orders had been issued to their admiral or that permission had been given to any person to interfere in any respect with the United States, or to thwart her policy in those waters in the slightest degree; that, on the contrary, strict orders had been given and constantly renewed to the effect that all pains should be taken to maintain the best relations with the Americans in those regions.

White added that, speaking for himself, he had suggested to Richthofen that the anxiety produced in America by the presence of Diederichs's fleet would be relieved if the German ships should come and go rather

⁵² Same to same, Aug. 28, 1898, Band 4. See also Vagts, II, 1353.

⁵³ Diederichs to commanding admiral, Aug. 2, 1898, Band 3b. Diederichs was careful to inform Dewey of the arrival and departure of German ships (Aug. 9, 1898, Band 3b). He also permitted the Americans to send officers aboard his ships at night (Aug. 9, 1898 [telegram], Band 3b), as has been referred to on page 68.

⁵⁴ Day to White (telegram), July 22, 1898, Germany, Instructions, XX.

than remain at Manila in a concentrated force.⁵⁵ When Bülow, to whom this proposal was conveyed, remarked that the kaiser would not be pleased with the suggestion, White hastened to say that his hint was purely informal.⁵⁶

At this point two questions naturally arise: Why did not the Department of State take action earlier, particularly in view of the expressions of dissatisfaction in the press, and why did it not lodge at least an informal protest? In the first place, Ambassador White's lengthy dispatches placed a favorable interpretation on the motives and conduct of the Germans.⁵⁷ In addition, statements emanating from the government in Berlin, as well as from the German ambassador in Washington, indicated that Germany had no desire to interfere with American operations.⁵⁸ Finally, Dewey's four sketchy telegrams, from which the pertinent passages have been quoted and which apparently constitute all that he ever officially reported regarding the alleged German menace, were not so worded as to indicate that diplomatic pressure was necessary.⁵⁹

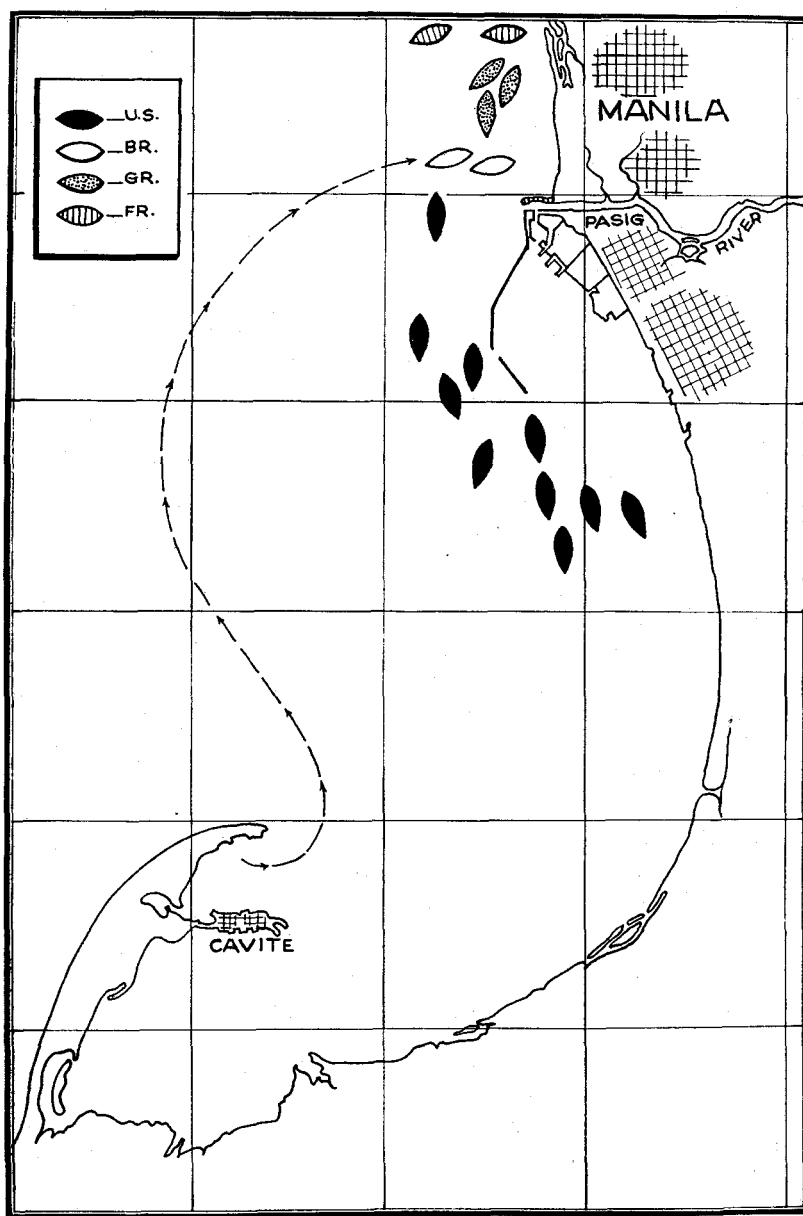
⁵⁵ White to Day, July 30, 1898, Dispatches, Germany, LXVI, no. 506. For additional evidence on the German public demand for the fleet see Stephen Gwynn, ed., *The Letters and Friendships of Sir Cecil Spring-Rice* (Boston, 1929), I, 251-52.

⁵⁶ White to Day, July 30, 1898, Dispatches, Germany, LXVI, no. 507. Richthofen records that White withdrew his suggestion very apologetically (*Grosse Politik*, XV, 67-68). Vagts concludes that the absence of the kaiser and other high German officials on their vacations had something to do with the continued presence of the fleet; also, that Dewey's remark to Diederichs that the United States did not intend to keep the islands made inadvisable the withdrawal of the squadron (II, 1336-37, 1349). The frequent and detailed reports to the kaiser, copies of which appear in the naval records, indicate that he was much interested in the situation at Manila.

⁵⁷ White to Day, June 18, 1898, Dispatches, Germany, LXVI. On July 12 White cabled that he had been advised by the foreign office that "Germany had thus far repelled all approaches of other European powers looking to interference, and that German admiral under orders from his Government resisted tempting offer made him at Manila" (to Day, *ibid.*). This, of course, refers to the proposal to take over Manila *in deposito*.

⁵⁸ The Department of State records reveal that no notes were exchanged on this subject though there were informal conversations with Holleben (*Grosse Politik*, XV, 41-42, 46; Day to White [telegram], July 22, 1898, Germany, Instructions, XX; White to Day, July 30, 1898, Dispatches, Germany, LXVI). Only one of Dewey's cablegrams, that of June 12, regarding the increase of the German fleet, was officially communicated to the Department of State.

⁵⁹ This statement is based upon a careful search through the files and registers of the Navy Department. See also Dewey's *Autobiography*, p. 252. Dewey was self-reliant; cabling was difficult; he disliked writing; there was no point in sending lengthy dispatches that were some six weeks in transit; and he was not so much concerned about the Germans then as he apparently believed, at a later day, that he had been. In letters to his son he did not mention them once, and in his personal letters to the United States Consul at Hong Kong he revealed only a secondary solicitude. Wildman, *Forum*, LIX, 513-35.



Approximate positions of ships off Manila, at 11 a.m., August 13, 1898, from the logs of the vessels and the reports of their commanders.

Early in August American preparations for storming Manila neared completion. On August 7 Dewey notified the foreign ships, which were anchored off the city, to change their positions by noon of the 9th so as to be out of the line of fire. The British men-of-war, with their refugee-laden steamers, moved about eight miles south to Cavite, where Dewey was then stationed.⁶⁰ The one Japanese warship, with one vessel in charge, did likewise. The two French cruisers moved past the mouth of the Pasig River to the north and west of the city, with three shiploads of refugees, as did the three German men-of-war. The fourth remaining German warship, the *Cormoran*, was left in charge of four steamers of German refugees in Mariveles Bay, a landlocked harbor some twenty miles southwest of Manila.⁶¹

Much significance has been attached to the fact, particularly in later years, that the British and Japanese, who were known to be friendly to the Americans, anchored near them, while the Germans and the French, who were believed to be less well disposed, drew off together where they were in a better position to interfere with Dewey's operations. Diederichs reported at the time, however, that he did not go to Cavite because the place was already crowded with American, Japanese, and British ships and because he thought that Mariveles, which was distant from the scene of hostilities, would be a better place for the refugees.⁶² The course of the French seems to have been dictated by convenience rather than by design, for the anchorage they chose was considerably closer than Cavite, and it enabled them to watch the operations of the Americans to better advantage.

On the morning of August 13 Dewey's fleet left Cavite to bombard the defenses of Manila.⁶³ Shortly thereafter the two British cruisers,

⁶⁰ Numerous secondary accounts relate that on this occasion the British flagship played the "Star-Spangled Banner". The writer has found several contemporary references to such an incident. *New York Herald*, Aug. 18, 1898; *Japan Weekly Mail*, Sept. 3, 1898; letter of Lieut. Col. Charles L. Jewett, quoted in Henry Watterson, *History of the Spanish-American War* (San Francisco, 1898), p. 371. It is significant, however, that no mention of band music is made in the reports or logs of either fleet, although it was not unusual to record such courtesies.

⁶¹ Chichester to Holland, Aug. 14, 1898, China Letters, 1898; Diederichs to commanding admiral, Aug. 28, 1898, Band 4; log of *Olympia*, Aug. 9, 1898, Bureau of Navigation.

⁶² Diederichs also reported that Dewey expressed his gratitude that the Germans did not come to already crowded Cavite (to commanding admiral, Aug. 28, 1898, Band 4).

⁶³ It was stated that as the fleet got under way the band of the *Immortalité* played patriotic airs in honor of the Americans. *Chicago Record*, Aug. 19, 1898; *New York Herald*, Aug. 18, 1898, p. 4; Dewey, *Autobiography*, p. 277 (also Dewey-Sargent Manuscript); Davis, *Released for Publication*, p. 17 (he was there at the time); Oscar Williams

the *Immortalité* and the *Iphigenia*, circled around Dewey's fleet and came to a stop in a position roughly between the German and American squadrons. This movement was later interpreted as an effective warning to the Germans, who were allegedly about to attack Dewey on his flank, that the British were prepared to fight on the side of the Americans.

The evidence against this interpretation is overwhelming. First of all, the crisis in German-American relations at Manila had passed almost exactly a month before. If Diederichs had wished to violate his instructions and try conclusions with Dewey he certainly would have done so before the arrival of the powerful *Monterey* and before the reduction of his own squadron from five to three ships. As for the German cruisers preparing to attack the Americans, their logs reveal that they were anchored and that they were not cleared for action. Nor do the three German logs and Diederichs's official report reveal any concern about the approaching British.⁶⁴ The log of the *Prinzess Wilhelm* did not even mention this movement; and Diederichs, in his eighty-three page dispatch, merely noted: "The English ships 'Immortalité' and 'Iphigenia' anchored near the German and French vessels, the latter [English] obstructing my view so nonchalantly that I was compelled to order S. M. S. 'Kaiser' to change anchorage."⁶⁵

From the British point of view certain facts are conclusive. The two gunboats were left behind at Cavite, and neither the *Immortalité* nor the *Iphigenia*, as the logs reveal, cleared for action. The two British warships proceeded over the eight-mile course at ordinary cruising speed,⁶⁶ which does not indicate that Dewey was in desperate need of protection. During this maneuver Chichester watched the firing of the American fleet with such care that he could hardly have been thinking of action with the Germans.⁶⁷ On arriving at their new station the two British ships dropped anchor, the last thing they would have done if preparing for hostilities. In short, Chichester simply shifted position, as

(former consul general at Manila, then on U. S. S. *Baltimore*) to Department of State, Aug. 13, 1898, Consular Letters, Manila (now in the National Archives), XIII. Neither the British nor the American reports or logs refer to the playing of the band.

⁶⁴ Logs of *Kaiser*, *Kaiserin Augusta*, and *Prinzess Wilhelm*, Aug. 13, 1898 (Kriegswissenschaftliche Abteilung der Marine).

⁶⁵ To commanding admiral, Aug. 28, 1898, Band 4. Diederichs did not mention the British movement in his telegram to the commanding admiral of Aug. 15, 1898, Band 3a.

⁶⁶ At ten knots (60 revolutions). The *Immortalité* was capable of 18 knots; the *Iphigenia*, 19.75. Brassey, *Naval Annual*, 1898, pp. 257, 267.

⁶⁷ For example, Chichester reported that he did not see the *Monterey* fire a single shot during the entire engagement (to Holland, Aug. 14, 1898, China Letters, 1898).

his records indicate, in order to watch more advantageously the progress of the battle.⁶⁸

In view of the great significance later attached to the British change of anchorage, it is remarkable that the present writer has found no strictly contemporary mention of it outside of the brief references in the official German and British records. Not a single one of the seven logs preserved from the American fleet refers to the movement, though meticulously recording the comings and goings of ships in the harbor, particularly the shift of positions on the 9th.⁶⁹ Nor do Dewey's sketchy official reports contain any reference to the British maneuver. There were twenty-four newspaper correspondents at Manila, several of them actually on the ships of the American fleet, and not one of them, so far as has been discovered, described the movement at the time.⁷⁰ Both the London *Times* and Reuters news agency had representatives on the ground, and one wonders how they overlooked the opportunity to capitalize on the incident, particularly at a time when Great Britain was so obviously seeking the friendship of the United States.⁷¹

There are two basic reasons for the silence of the newspaper correspondents. First, all eyes were focused on the bombardment by the American fleet and the assault by the troops.⁷² Second, no one apparently was expecting, or had reason to expect, that the Germans would attempt to interfere. The British movement, therefore, had no special significance and consequently no news value.

⁶⁸ Chichester reported: "On the American Squadron weighing this ship [*Immortalité*] and 'Iphigenia' weighed and proceeded to an anchorage North of the Passig [*sic*] River to watch proceedings" (*ibid.*). The log of the *Iphigenia* reads: "9.0 Weighed and proceeded 60 revns [revolutions] course as reqte [requisite] for anchorage Northward of Manila town" (logs of *Iphigenia* and *Immortalité*). The voluminous British and German reports on the battle of May 1, as well as other data, indicate that the neutral naval powers were keenly interested in technical aspects of this war.

⁶⁹ *Olympia, Baltimore, Raleigh, Petrel, Concord, Boston, Monterey*, Bureau of Navigation. The logs of the cruiser *Charleston*, the gunboat *Callao*, and the revenue cutter *McCulloch* have not been preserved.

⁷⁰ The New York *Herald* correspondent did go so far as to report that the two British ships, "whose commanders kept them in motion, watched the fight from a favorable position". The same issue of the *Herald* published a map showing the position of the British after they had completed their movement ("as described by the *Herald's* correspondents") but not explaining how they got there or attaching any significance to their presence at that spot. New York *Herald*, Aug. 18, 1898.

⁷¹ The Reuters dispatch in the London *Times* had only this to say: "The bombardment was watched by the ships of the foreign Powers stationed here" (London *Times*, Aug. 17, 1898).

⁷² Bradley A. Fiske, later rear admiral, who was then at Manila, subsequently referred to the British maneuver but added, "I did not notice it myself". B. A. Fiske, *War Time in Manila* (Boston, 1913), p. 128. It is to be noted that Dewey's informal press censorship was lifted on August 13. Barrett, *Dewey*, p. 117.

Late in the afternoon of the same day, August 13, after the city had surrendered, the German cruiser *Kaiserin Augusta* slipped out of the harbor for Hong Kong carrying General Augustín, who had been removed as governor general of the Philippines on August 5. The Americans at Manila were annoyed by Diederichs's failure to extend the usual courtesy of offering to carry dispatches, and the rumor spread that Dewey had been robbed of a legitimate prisoner of war.⁷³ Upon arriving at Hong Kong the Germans attempted to keep secret the fall of Manila, much to the annoyance of the British, but the news leaked out. Both the American and the British press expressed resentment at such conduct, and the German newspapers came back with hot retorts.⁷⁴ This, it will be observed, was the third flurry of excitement growing out of German-American relations at Manila.

The German foreign office, presumably anticipating a protest from the United States, caused a telegraphic inquiry to be sent to the commander of the *Kaiserin Augusta*. He promptly replied that he had brought General Augustín with the permission of the Americans.⁷⁵ Diederichs explained his action by saying that he wanted to be the first to report the fall of Manila and that if he had stopped to pick up dispatches from all the foreign ships the departure of the *Kaiserin Augusta* would have been greatly delayed. Besides, he assumed that Dewey would send one of his own vessels to Hong Kong.⁷⁶ In any event, the Department of State files do not indicate that representations were made, and the incident was quickly forgotten.

On August 14, the day after the fall of the city, the German ships returned to their former anchorage. On August 15 the British did likewise, and the *Immortalité* fired a salute of twenty-one guns in honor of the United States flag, which then waved over Manila—a circumstance that somewhat annoyed the German commander.⁷⁷ She was the only ship to accord this honor to the Americans. On that same day Diederichs received orders, in response to a suggestion that he had himself telegraphed, to proceed to Batavia and there take part in the coronation ceremonies in honor of Queen Wilhelmina. At the same time the kaiser

⁷³ The German discourtesy seemed all the greater because the *Kaiserin Augusta* was a fast ship, and the Americans were eager to get news of the fall of Manila to the United States.

⁷⁴ New York *Herald*, Aug. 17, 18, 1898; Chicago *Record*, Aug. 18, 1898; London *Times*, Aug. 17, 18, 1898.

⁷⁵ Commanding admiral to Köllner (telegram), Aug. 17, 1898; Köllner to commanding admiral (telegram), Aug. 17, 18, 1898, Band 3a; Diederichs to commanding admiral, Aug. 28, 1898, Band 4.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.* ⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

congratulated Diederichs on his handling of the situation at Manila.⁷⁸ The next day, August 16, news reached the Philippines of the signing of the peace protocol.⁷⁹

German-American misunderstanding growing out of the events in the Philippines did not end with the war. Although it will not be possible to treat fully this aspect of the story, the most significant developments may be noted. In April, 1899, Captain Coghlin of the *Raleigh*, speaking before the Union League Club in New York, attracted international attention when he described German-American friction at Manila and dramatically repeated what the American commander had told Hintze.⁸⁰ Dewey, himself, unwittingly contributed to the ill-feeling on his voyage home when, at Trieste, he remarked to a man who happened to be a correspondent of the New York *Herald* that "our next war will be with Germany". The story was widely published on both sides of the Atlantic, and the bitterness of this experience, combined with suspicions of Germany which arose from the Venezuela incident of 1902-1903, probably further colored Dewey's recollection of the events at Manila.⁸¹

Late in 1898 and early in 1899 a considerable number of writers, some of whom had just returned from the Philippines, published magazine articles and books in which they described the recent events at Manila Bay. It is significant that several of these correspondents appear to have discovered for the first time that there had been a British ship movement.⁸² Drawing upon these accounts and presumably also upon his

⁷⁸ Diederichs to commanding admiral, Aug. 15, 1898 (telegram); Wilhelm I. R. to Oberkommando der Marine, Aug. 15, 1898 (telegram); commanding admiral to Diederichs, Aug. 15, 1898 (telegram), Band 3a.

⁷⁹ In view of Dewey's laconic and matter-of-fact telegrams about the Germans during the war, it is interesting that he cabled the following complaint nearly three months after hostilities had ended: "German cruiser *Irene* arrived yesterday and did not salute Port no German man of war has yet done so" (to Secretary of Navy, Nov. 17, 1898, Bureau of Navigation). This would indicate that recent events were beginning to rankle and that the renewal of cable connections with Manila made it easier to report unimportant developments.

⁸⁰ For details of the incident see the New York *Herald*, April 23, 1899, and issues following. The German government made official representations (Vagts, II, 1385-86, n.).

⁸¹ New York *Herald*, July 29, 1899, and issues following. The evidence is strong that Dewey was quoted correctly, or substantially so. A sheaf of cablegrams asking for confirmation attests to general interest in the incident (Dewey Papers, Library of Congress). At the time of the Venezuela excitement Dewey gave out another anti-German interview, which elicited a tactful reprimand from President Roosevelt. Joseph Bucklin Bishop, *Theodore Roosevelt and his Time* (New York, 1920), I, 239. See also Vagts, II, 1555, 1593, 1610, n.

⁸² See particularly Joseph L. Stickney, *Life and Glorious Deeds of Admiral Dewey* (Chicago, 1898), p. 110; Edward W. Harden, "Dewey at Manila", *McClure's Magazine*,

imagination, Henry Cabot Lodge published in 1899 the first full-blown version of the legend that the writer has found.⁸³ According to this account, (1) the Germans were threatening Dewey with annihilation, (2) Chichester rapidly steamed in between the Germans and Dewey, (3) the Germans took the hint, (4) Dewey was saved by the British. This, in outline, is the story that came to be generally accepted.⁸⁴

The principals in the drama generally kept silent throughout the decade following the events at Manila. Chichester, however, was not loath to refer on occasion to the good feeling that had existed between the Americans and the British;⁸⁵ and his death, in 1906, recalled his sympathy during the trying days of 1898.⁸⁶ In September, 1913, Dewey published his *Autobiography*, and, although he described in considerable detail the petty points of friction with the Germans, he mentioned the British ship movement somewhat casually.⁸⁷ German naval circles and to a lesser extent the press were aroused by Dewey's animadversions, and with the sanction, if not the active encouragement, of the admiralty Diederichs published a lengthy and circumstantial rebuttal in the *Marine Rundschau*. He had available his diary and detailed reports and was able to find a number of errors in Dewey's account, which was based to a considerable extent on memory. The episode, which received some notice in the press of the United States for about two weeks, served to stir anew the embers of 1898.⁸⁸

XII (Feb., 1899), 369-84; John T. McCutcheon, "The Surrender of Manila", *Century Magazine*, LVII (Apr., 1899), 940. All these writers had been at Manila.

⁸³ *The War with Spain* (New York, 1899), pp. 215-16.

⁸⁴ See the rather confused account of Edgar Stanton Maclay, *A History of the United States Navy from 1775 to 1902* (new and enl. ed., New York, 1902), III, 429. John D. Long, ex-secretary of the navy, placed a semi-official stamp on the story when he repeated it in a rather prosaic fashion in *The New American Navy* (London, 1904), II, 112. See also the lurid account in Harry Thurston Peck, *Twenty Years of the Republic, 1885-1905* (New York, 1906), p. 589.

⁸⁵ See his speech at Algeciras, reported in the *New York Times*, Jan. 17, 1906.

⁸⁶ *London Times*, Sept. 18, 1906; see an anecdote in *Harper's Weekly*, L (Oct. 6, 1906), 1415.

⁸⁷ In his *Autobiography* (p. 277) Dewey states: "... Captain Chichester got under way also and with the *Immortalité* and the *Iphigenia* steamed over toward the city and took up a position which placed his vessels between ours and those of the foreign fleet." In the Dewey-Sargent Manuscript "significantly" appears before "took up a position"; and there is also this statement: "This manoeuvre was quietly executed, but it meant much, and no doubt was as thoroughly understood by the foreign men-of-war as it was appreciated by our own."

⁸⁸ The Diederichs account ("Darstellung der Vorgänge") was translated in slightly abridged form in the *Journal of the Royal United Service Institution*, LIX (Nov., 1914), 421-46. For the press accounts of the Dewey-Diederichs debate see *New York Times*, Feb. 18, 19, 20, 21, 25, 26, 28, Mar. 1, 4, 1914.

The Dewey-Diederichs debate had not been entirely forgotten when in August, 1914, the Germans invaded Belgium. Many Americans, especially those with pro-Ally leanings, were quick to remember German hostility and British sympathy at Manila Bay. Magazine writers and orators in the United States exploited this theme—with what effect it is difficult to say—both before and after their country entered the war.⁸⁹ But the British, with Belgian atrocity stories at hand, did not make the Manila Bay imbroglio a major point in their propaganda campaign, though the writer has found one pamphlet devoted to it.⁹⁰ During the years following 1918 the story of German unfriendliness and British support continued to appear in hands-across-the-sea propaganda, the reminiscences of newspaper correspondents, and the observations of radio commentators.⁹¹ It was too good a tale to let die.

In retrospect it appears that the German-American friction at Manila Bay grew primarily out of a misunderstanding of German actions and motives. Although Diederichs had no orders to interfere with the Americans and apparently had no intention of doing so, his insistence upon what he conceived to be his rights during a blockade, together with the disproportionate strength of his fleet, gave a sinister aspect to German intentions. This situation, coupled with other unfortunate incidents and contrasted with British friendliness for the Americans, created an atmosphere in which misrepresentation and legend found a rapid and tenacious growth.

THOMAS A. BAILEY.

Stanford University.

⁸⁹ In 1918 *Forum* featured a series of letters written by Dewey from Manila to the United States Consul General at Hong Kong. Dewey's few more or less innocuous observations about the Germans were heavily italicized by the editor, who added the Chichester legend in lurid form (Wildman, LIX, 513-35). See also James Middleton, "The Mailed Fist in American History", *World's Work*, XXXII (May, 1916), 145-52. The present writer was first introduced to the Chichester incident by a Liberty Loan orator in the spring of 1918.

⁹⁰ Archibald Hurd, "An Incident of War: 'By Order of the Kaiser'" (London, 1916).

⁹¹ See Owen Wister, *A Straight Deal or the Ancient Grudge* (New York, 1920), pp. 180-81; Davis, *Released for Publication*, pp. 6-19. In a radio broadcast on January 14, 1938, Miss Dorothy Thompson had the British save Dewey from the Germans just before the battle of Manila Bay, May 1, 1898. Mr. Westbrook Pegler, in his syndicated column of September 3, 1938, referred to the "British admiral who stood off the Germans at Manila Bay". In March, 1939, Mr. Preston Grover, also a newspaper columnist, became involved in a controversy in which he repeated the legend.

NOTES AND SUGGESTIONS

THE EARLIEST PERMANENT SETTLEMENT IN CAROLINA

NATHANIEL BATTS AND THE COMBERFORD MAP ¹

The founding of most of the English colonies in North America is clearly defined, but the earliest developments in the Carolina region are obscure and uncertain. The lords proprietors, who were granted a charter in 1663, found settlers there who had already established plantations after having bought land from the Indians or obtained grants from Virginia.² How long they had been in the Albemarle Sound region, where they had first settled, and how many there were, is not known.

There are, however, indications of colonizing interest around 1650 in the region between the Chowan and Roanoke Rivers by persons from Virginia. About 1648 Henry Plumptre, Thomas Tuke, and several others bought from the Indians all the land on the Chowan between the mouth of the Roanoke River and the mouth of Weyanoke Creek.³ Apparently no settlement was made at that time; at least, in 1708 Henry Plumptre stated that he had lived in Nansemond County, Virginia, since 1624. In 1653, upon the petition of Roger Green, a clergyman, and several inhabitants along the Nansemond River (possibly identical with those who had purchased the land from the Indians in 1648), the general assembly of Virginia granted between ten and eleven thousand acres to the hundred persons who should first seat themselves south of the Chowan and on the banks of the Roanoke River.⁴

¹ This article is part of a study being made with the aid of a grant from the Social Science Research Council.

² W. L. Saunders, *Colonial Records of North Carolina* (Raleigh, 1886), I, ix, x, 22, 355, 571, hereinafter referred to as *C.R.* In 1722 Dr. Daniel Coxe wrote that settlements had been made under the auspices of Lord Maltravers, but Coxe was not a disinterested witness, for he was the owner of the Heath patent and was contesting the validity of the charter of the lords proprietors, which expressly stated that the Heath grant (1629) was forfeit for lack of colonization. See D. Coxe, *Description of the English Province of Carolana . . .* (London, 1722), p. 116. The whole matter is confusing because the patent given to Lord Maltravers in 1639 by the Virginia council included not the entire Heath grant of "Carolana" but only one degree of it (35°—36°) together with hundreds of square miles of Virginia territory (*C.R.*, I, 14-15). That the upper reaches of Nansemond River, included in the Maltravers patent, were settled is very probable.

³ *C.R.*, I, 676.

⁴ *C.R.*, I, 17. To this minimum number of persons required for settlement was added

Although there is no proof of permanent settlements before 1660 in the documents so far used by historians, newly discovered evidence exists of a settlement at the mouth of the Roanoke River which dates at the latest from 1657. The New York Public Library possesses a vellum manuscript map by Nicholas Comberford, entitled "The South Part of Virginia Now the North Part of Carolina", which is dated 1657 and embodies information gained from a fresh survey of the region. This map, a part of which is here reproduced, deserves special attention because of its evident use of original contemporary source material, the excellence of its composition, and the historical importance of the information it gives.⁵ It shows a neatly drawn house near the sound, on

a provision that they seat themselves advantageously for security and be sufficiently furnished with ammunition; the terrible massacres of the outlying settlers in preceding years by the Indians had forced the council to add this regulation in grants for new settlements. The grant of 1653 contains the phrase, "next to those persons who have had a former grant", which seems to imply the existence of a previous settlement. After the charter of 1663 to the lords proprietors, and even before, settlers who had received grants from the Indians were required to take out patents with Governor Berkeley of Virginia or the proper authorities (*C.R.*, I, 204, 355); but there is scant indication that there were Indian grants prior to 1660 for land which was settled. In short, though it is reasonable to suppose that settlements had been established before 1660, any date before then has so far been based on inference, and the number of settlers has probably been exaggerated.

⁵ The map is on vellum and colored; it is 16-13/16" x 12-1/16" in size and is mounted on cedar boards about 3/8" thick. On the front cover is a bookplate of "James Comerford", not having the "b", probably a former owner of the map and descendant of the map maker. In the opinion of Mr. Victor H. Paltsits, chief of American History Division and keeper of manuscripts, New York Public Library, the words "Now the North Part of Carolina" were added to the original title in darker ink by a different hand in the seventeenth century.

Nicholas Comberford (fl. 1646-64) designed numerous charts on vellum, in colors and gold; he lived in London, "neare to the West End of the School House at thee signe of the Platt in Radcliffe", according to one of his portulans now in the Biblioteca nazionale, Florence. For a somewhat more extended bibliographical notice of Comberford see I. N. P. Stokes, *Iconography of Manhattan Island* (New York, 1915-28), II, 152.

The territory shown on the Comberford map extends from Cape Henry to Cape Fear (the present Cape Lookout, which was often called Cape Fear on the early maps) and gives a delineation of the country a short distance up the Chowan, Roanoke, Pamlico, and Neuse Rivers. The most important earlier type map of this region was the John White (1590) chart. Most of the cartography of the region was based on the White map until about 1733, although several changes were made after the Ogilby (1673?) and Gascoigne (1682) maps of Carolina. The Comberford map differs in many ways from the maps which preceded it. For the first time English names which survive in present-day nomenclature are given. The topography is more accurate and detailed and indicates that surprisingly careful surveys had been made up the Chowan River branches to Blackwater River at "South Key". This is the present South Quay, Virginia, a few miles below Franklin, Virginia; a legend on the map states that "great sloopes" could come up the

the neck of land between the mouth of the Roanoke River and Salmon Creek, with the legend "Batts House" extending from it into the sound. That Nathaniel Batts, and probably others, as will be shown, had settled near the sound between the Roanoke and Chowan Rivers is not surprising in view of the interest taken by Plumpton, Green, and their Nansemond neighbors in this region.

From references to the region a few years later one can infer not only that it was settled but also that it was regarded as one of the chief centers of population in the early years of the proprietary rule. Robert R. Lawrence had a plantation a few miles north of the mouth of the Roanoke River from 1660-61 to about 1667-68.⁶ One of the earliest maps of the Albemarle Sound region made after the grant to the lords proprietors shows one of the governor's plantations at the mouth of the Roanoke River and to the north.⁷ The governor had also, according to

river to this point. The survey for the Comberford map was probably made by the 1656 expedition of Dew and Francis (see below) or by Roger Green's companions.

Among the names which appear for the first time on the Comberford map are: "Knot Ile" (the present Knott Island, in Currituck Sound); "Machapoungo R" (Pungo River); "Pamxtico River" (Pamlico); "The Neus River" (Neuse). Of special interest is "Lucks Island", for this is apparently the only extant identification of this Banks island which was referred to in the charter of 1663 to the lords proprietors as the northern limit of their grant, "All that territory . . . extending from the north end of the island called Lucke island, which lieth in southern Virginia seas, and within six and thirty degrees of northern latitude" (*C.R.*, I, 21). The inlets which made Lucks Island have since disappeared.

The general excellence of the Comberford map and the number of permanent names which appear on it make it unfortunate that it has not been published. Frequently in the *Colonial Records* one comes across the urgent plea from the lords proprietors for new surveys or new maps, yet it was not until the province became a crown colony that a map as good as this was made. Evidently the Comberford map was not known to subsequent map makers. The obsolete nomenclature of the White map clung to eighteenth century maps with a tenacity which would be surprising to one unacquainted with the imitative characteristics of seventeenth and eighteenth century cartographers.

⁶ On March 25, 1708 (1707?; the English year began on that date), Lawrence swore in a deposition that about forty-seven years before (1660-61) he seated a plantation three or four miles above the mouth of the Moratock (Roanoke) River and lived there about seven years (*C.R.*, I, 677). Among the oldest direct documentary proofs of settlement is the grant on March 1, 1662, to George Durant of some land bounded by the sound and Perquimans River, in which the grantor, Kilcaconen, king of the Yeopim Indians, refers to an adjacent tract which "I formly sold to Saml Pricklove" (*C.R.*, I, 19, 20, 355).

⁷ British Museum Additional Manuscripts, 5027.a.59. Photograph in A. B. Hulbert, *Crown Collection of American Maps* (Cleveland, 1908), Ser. I, Vol. V, map 29. The map has been catalogued as "Drawn about 1660", but this is wrong, for "Albemarle River" is written on it, and the sound was called Albemarle after one of the lords proprietors around 1665. This map, however, is a valuable one with interesting details not elsewhere recorded. It was apparently made in the late 1660's.

this map, another plantation on the south shore of the sound between the Roanoke and Mackay Creek or Bull Bay, which is about four miles from the mouth of the Roanoke. Another bit of evidence of continuous settlement is that in 1676 the lords proprietors stated that they had instructed the governor and assembly of Albemarle to establish three port towns in the County of Albemarle, "To bee the onely places where the Shippes shall lade and unlaid"⁸, namely, on Roanoke Island, on Durant's Neck, and on the neck of land between Salmon Creek and the Roanoke River, the last being the location of Batts's house on the Comberford map. Since Durant's Neck at this time was one of the centers of population in the province, it is reasonable to suppose that the lords proprietors chose the other two localities because of their existing settlements. Further evidence is supplied by a map drawn by James Lancaster in 1679, now in the Blathwayt Atlas in the John Carter Brown Library, which shows the various settlements in the Albemarle region. This may have been made from the information sent by Sir Peter Colleton in February of that year to Blathwayt, who was the collector of his majesty's customs and had asked Colleton for information concerning the Albemarle region.⁹ The Lancaster map has houses at the mouth of the Roanoke both to the north and the south and on both sides of Mackay Creek.

The "Batts settlement" appears by all the evidence, therefore, to have continued without interruption into the proprietary period. There is no way to establish the exact size of the population in these early settlements at any given time, but presumably there was no sudden migration of all the settlers from this region after Albemarle County began to grow. The strict orders of the Virginia council in 1653 had been that not less than a hundred able-bodied settlers would be allowed to settle this region. We may perhaps presume, therefore, that any settlement with as continuous a record as the one to the north of the Roanoke was permanent.

Why did Comberford choose to depict only Batts's house on his map if, as seems probable, there were other settlers in the vicinity? It was apparently because Captain Nathaniel Batts was the leading man of that region. "Governor of Roan-oak" is the title given to him by George Fox, the founder of the Society of Friends, in his journal. In September,

⁸ C.R., I, 229.

⁹ C.R., I, 286. The Blathwayt Atlas is a collection of manuscript and printed maps; the map referred to is No. 19. There are four manuscript maps of the Carolina region in the atlas, none of which has been published.

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1672, Fox went with William Edmundson "down the creek in a canoe to Macocomocock River, and came to Hugh Smith's, where people of other professions came to see us (no Friends inhabiting that part of the country) and many of them received us gladly". Fox then states: "Among others came Nathaniel Batts, who had been Governor of Roan-oak. He went by the name of captain Batts, and had been a rude, desperate man. He asked me about a woman in Cumberland, who, he said, he was told, had been healed by our prayers and laying on of hands, after she had been long sick, and given over by the physicians: he desired to know the certainty of it. I told him, we did not glory in such things, but many such things had been done by the power of Christ."¹⁰ At the end of his trip to Carolina, Fox again visited Batts: "& soe wee left our boate where wee had borrowed her [Edenton], & tooke our Cannoe & came to Captain Batts, and there lay most of us by the fire that night, & after we came half a mile to Hugh Smiths".¹¹ In the following year, 1673, from the Worcester prison, where he had been incarcerated for eight months, Fox wrote to Friends in Virginia, again mentioning Batts as governor: "If you go over again to Carolina, you may inquire of Capt. Batts, the Old Governor, with whom I left a Paper to be read to the Emperor, and his Thirty Kings under him of the Tusrowres, who were come to Treat for Peace with the People of Carolina: Whether he did read it to them or no, remember me to Major General Benett, and Col. Dew, and the rest of the Justices that were Friendly and Curteous to me, when I was there, and came to Meetings."¹²

Circumstantial evidence thus indicates that prior to the patent to the lords proprietors there was a sufficiently extensive settlement on Roanoke Sound to justify some kind of administrative organization. Whether Batts had been appointed by Governor Berkeley because of the grants and patents given by Virginia in the region, or whether, as is more probable, Batts was chosen by the settlers themselves, we do not know. There is direct evidence, as we have seen, that he was not without neighbors in the preproprietary period,¹³ and contemporary references seem to connect him with persons in Nansemond County who were interested in exploration south of Virginia.

Batts had owned land in Nansemond, for he purchased nine hun-

¹⁰ C.R., I, 217.

¹¹ *The Journal of George Fox*, Norman Penney, ed. (Cambridge, 1911), II, 236.

¹² George Fox, *A Collection of Many Select and Christian Epistles, Letters, and Testimonies* . . . (London, 1698), Vol. II, Pt. 1, p. 336.

¹³ See note 6.

dred acres from Samuel Stephens which he sold later to Thomas Francis, according to an entry in a patent book in the Virginia State Land Office.¹⁴ This is the Captain Thomas Francis who, with Colonel Thomas Dew and other unspecified gentlemen planters whom they might ask, was commissioned by the general assembly of Virginia in December, 1656, to make discoveries between Cape Hatteras and Cape Fear.¹⁵ Both of these men lived in Nansemond County and were persons of prominence in the colony. Colonel Dew had been chosen speaker of the general assembly in 1652 and appointed to the Virginia council in 1655. Captain Thomas Francis was a member of the general assembly in 1657.¹⁶ Captain Batts was probably interested in this expedition, either as a neighbor of Captain Francis in Virginia or as one who was deputed for the expedition because he had already moved south from Virginia and knew the region. Within six months after the petition for exploration was granted and while Captain Francis was a member of the general assembly, which was then in session, Batts received special privileges as a reward for an expedition into the region mentioned in the commission for Dew and Francis.¹⁷ Batts's under-

¹⁴ "Elizabeth, Ann, & Susa. Francis. 900 Acres. To all, Etc., Whereas, etc., now Know ye that I, the said William Berkeley, Knight, Governor, etc., give and grant unto Elizabeth, Ann and Susanna Francis, the Orphans of Mr. Thomas Francis deceased, nine hundred acres of land in the County of Nancemond. . . . The said Land being formerly granted unto Samuel Stephens by Patent dated the twentieth of July one thousand six hundred and thirty-nine . . . and by the Said Stephens Sold and Assigned unto Nathaniel Batts and by the same Batts sold unto Mr. Thomas Francis and now become due to the said Orphans . . . dated the twentieth of October one thousand six hundred and sixty five." Patent Books, V, 563-64. The early records of Nansemond County, which might have thrown further light on Nathaniel Batts, have been destroyed.

¹⁵ W. W. Hening, *Statutes at Large* (New York, 1823), I, 442.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, I, 373, 379, 386, 408 (Dew); 430 (Francis).

¹⁷ In an abstract of the Minutes of Council and General Records of Virginia for June 11, 1657, which is preserved in the manuscript notes of the historian Conway Robinson, made by him before the destruction of the minutes during the Civil War, the following note occurs: "p. 314 Privilege granted Nathaniel Batte for interest taken in the discovery of an inlet to the southward p. 339, 392." The pages 339 and 392 refer to subsequent entries concerning Nathaniel Batts in the minutes, but of these Robinson made no further note, nor does he explain what the "privilege granted" was. Conway Robinson, "Notes from Council and General Court Records, 1641-1664", *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, VIII (Oct., 1900), 165. The next entry in the Conway Robinson records is to page 317 in the original minutes. The three intervening pages (314-17) may have dealt with Batts's privilege or with unrelated matters. The privilege may have been merely for trade with the Indians or a grant to settle land. The Robinson notes were edited by the late Mr. William G. Stanard, editor of the *Virginia Magazine*, who indicated that he planned to write a footnote on this passage. The footnote was not printed, and his sister, Miss Stanard, after a careful search, could find no papers of her brother which contained it.

taking may be connected not only with Dew and Francis but with the Nansemond County inhabitants who applied for a grant between the Roanoke and Chowan in 1653. Evidently Batts made explorations along Albemarle or Pamlico Sounds, either for himself or as agent in some colonizing movement; the Comberford map probably records the knowledge gained in these expeditions.

Batts's "rude, desperate" nature apparently harmonized but little with the proprietary rule, for he seems to have taken no part in the later affairs of the province. After the entry in Fox's journal he drops from sight, unless he is connected with Batts Island, later called Batts Grave. If, as seems likely, the eponymous Batts was our Nathaniel Batts, he moved, probably after 1672, to the island and died there.¹⁸ The territory to the north of the Roanoke River continued to develop without the presence of Batts, for by 1723 this region, containing the earliest continuous settlement for which there is documentary evidence, had become one of the most flourishing in North Carolina.¹⁹

W. P. CUMMING.

Davidson College.

¹⁸ Whatever the antecedents of Batts, he apparently left a strong imprint upon nomenclature along the coast. "Bats' Creek", a tributary to the Neuse on the south side, was the scene of a bloody massacre by the Indians in 1712 (*C.R.*, I, 864). On the Comberford Map "Battis Point", between the Pamlico River and Machapoungo River, may be another mark left by Batts in his "discovery to the southward". By 1672 the island in the sound at the mouth of Yeopim River had been changed to "Batts Island" from its earlier title of "Heriots Ile" (see the early sixteenth century maps), for in that year George Fox writes: "and at the first house wee came to in corlina wee mett with an Indian Kinge a pretty sober man; The truth spreadeth, & as wee passed downe, wee passed by Batts Iland & by Kickwold youpen, & pekeque mines [Perquimans] River, where there is some friendly people" (*Journal*, II, 234). By the end of the century the island was called "Batts Grave", for in 1694 James Fewox brought suit against Benjamin Lakar for putting hogs "upon a certain piece of land called Batts grave or island" (*C.R.*, I, 414-15).

¹⁹ F. L. Hawks, *History of North Carolina* (Fayetteville, 1859), I, 61-67. The Moseley (1733), Wimble (1738), and Mouzon (1775) maps of North Carolina, based on new surveys, indicate several plantations in the region between the Roanoke River and Salmon Creek.

DOCUMENTS

THE SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS

AN EARLY SEVENTEENTH CENTURY TRACTATE

WILLIAM Hakewill wrote a valuable early description of procedure in the house of commons which appeared for the first time in print in 1641 in two editions, the first unauthorized and entitled *The Order and Course of Passing Bills in Parliament* and the second containing a preface by the author and bearing the title *The Manner How Statutes Are Enacted in Parliament by Passing of Bills*. This preface tells us something of the origin and purpose of the tractate. Hakewill there states that, having "about thirty yeeres past,¹ the free use and perusall of all the Journalls of the Commons . . . untill that time . . . I read them all through, and whatsoever I conceived to tend to the rule of the house . . . I reduced under Apt Parliamentary Titles: Amongst the rest in this Chapter of passing of Bills, I was the more sedulous, because it is indeed the daily and most proper worke of that house". This preface not only elucidates the circumstances under which the tractate on bills was composed but also shows that Hakewill had collected additional material on commons procedure. The tractate is described as "this Chapter of passing Bills" and is divided into sections, not chapters. Moreover, Hakewill specifically refers his readers to other chapters, namely, the "*Chapter which treateth of the dutie of the Clarke*", the "*Chapter which treateth of the conclusion of the Parliament*", and "another chapter" on committees, and he states that in "ancient times the practice was much differing as elsewhere shall be declared", thus apparently referring to still another chapter, one on early procedure.² Of these chapters on the clerk, the conclusion of parliament, committees, and early procedure, nothing is known by the present writer. They do not appear to have been printed.

It seems almost certain, however, that Hakewill was the author of

¹ This indicates that the tractate was composed about 1611.

² *The Manner How Statutes Are Enacted in Parliament by Passing of Bills* (London, 1641), pp. 23, 37, 77, 79. Because of this reference to early procedure, it might seem possible that Hakewill was the author of the manuscript "Expedicio Billarum Antiquitus". All the evidence as to authorship, however, points to Henry Elsynge. See my article, "Expedicio Billarum Antiquitus: An Unpublished Chapter of Elsynge's Treatise on Parliament", *American Historical Review*, XLII (Jan., 1937), 225-34.

the brief tractate printed below. It was found in British Museum Additional Manuscript 8980, folios 19-21b, and is entitled "Concerneinge the Speakers dutie in puttinge of thinges to the question".

A connection between Hakewill's tractate on bills and this on the speaker is suggested initially by the fact that folios 1-18 of Additional Manuscript 8980, immediately preceding the latter, contain a copy of the former. It is to be observed, moreover, that Hakewill's printed tractate on bills contains no specific discussion of the speaker and his duties, a surprising omission in a seventeenth century tractate on parliament.³ The two tractates, furthermore, are evidently of the same period, for the latest date mentioned in the tractate on bills is 1610, and in the tractate on the speaker, 1604. The strongest evidence, however, pointing to Hakewill's authorship of the latter is the following statement which it contains: "the maner of passing of Bills is more amply handled in the Chapter concerning the passing of Bills".⁴ We have seen that Hakewill described his tractate on bills as a "Chapter".

This document on the speaker, now printed for the first time, supplies, perhaps, little new material of importance when compared with Hakewill's tractate on bills and with William Lambarde's *Orders, Proceedings, Punishments, and Privileges of the Commons House of Parliament in England*,⁵ contemporaneous with the former. Some interest attaches to it, however, as a tractate on procedure and one almost surely written by Hakewill. Moreover, it serves the important function of counteracting the impression given by Hakewill in his tractate on bills and by Lambarde, that the procedure of the house of commons had been routinized by 1610 or so. The emphasis here is rather on the flexibility of procedure and the need for discretion and judgment in the speaker. The putting of questions was not entirely automatic; apparently the speaker must consider the time and the circumstances and adjust the rules to them. Moreover, the actual form of the question was made by the speaker; the practice whereby the maker of a motion submits it in the form of a question was not then customary. Only if the house "dislike that wch is propounded", should the speaker "waite their further direcons for the words and forme of the question to bee made".⁶

CATHERINE STRATEMAN SIMS.

Atlanta, Georgia.

³ The various editions of *The Manner How Statutes Are Enacted* are bound with a *Catalogue of the Names of the Speakers*, presumably by Hakewill. But there is no description of the election and duties of the speaker.

⁴ See p. 94. ⁵ London, 1641. ⁶ See p. 92.

CONCERNEINGE THE SPEAKERS DUTIE IN PUTTINGE OF THINGES
TO THE QUESTION

Although the Speaker by the guidance of his owne Judgmt. may discern when the debate of a matter draweth towards an end, and is ripe for a question yet that hee may proceede more securely and with the contentment of the house, hee will doe well not to offer to put it to the question untill the house doe first call for the question wch usually they doe, when they conceive it timely—and then not to doe it hastily, but when hee standeth upp, then to pawse a while, and looke about him whethr any other man will speake to it, and yet not then neither to bee too hastic in putting of it especially if it bee a question of great moment, but first to aske the house whether it bee their pleasure, hee should put the question. If hee finde them desirous of it, and that it bee a question of Importance groweing uppon some motion wch. varieth according to the nature of the matter, and not a question about the comitting or ingrossing or passing of a Bill the forme of wch questions are routine, hee will doe well to informe them, what hee conceaves the question ought to bee, and in what words hee intendeth to make it (except they shall please otherwise to direct him) and if they dislike that wch is propounded, then to waite their further direcons for the words and forme of the question to bee made, but if they agree to the fform propounded by him, he ought before he put the question to say: Then now, by yor favor I will put the question, as you have directed mee and then putteth the question accordingly.

It happeneth many times, especially in matters wch are debated upon motions that divers will move to have the question deferred till the next day or some longer tyme, and sometimes they will move not to have it to bee put att all to the question, especially if it bee a matter wch they desire should eyther pass wth an unanimous consent, or not at all. And then hee ought to make the question, whether they will have it then put to the question, or deferre the putting thereof till some other tyme: or whether they will have any Question att all to be putt as hee findeth the inclination of the house, either to the one or the other.⁷

Upon Reports made by the Committee of Ellections and Returnes hee that maketh the Reporte, will many times report the opinions of the Committees, in 3 or 4 severall causes, at once, and in every one of these causes there may perhaps bee 3 or 4 severall questions resolved by the Committees in all wch. judgmt of the house is required. In such cases the Speaker usually taketh note of the severall questions in the first case reported and propoundeth every one of them severally to the Judgmt. of the house, and in the like maner proceedeth to the questions of every severall case, as they reported one after the other, for the avoyding of confusion.

The like uppon other reports or motions wch begett several questions.

Upon the first readeing of a Bill originally begun in the Comons house, the Speaker after hee hath reade the title of the Bill, and opened the effect

⁷ This may be a description of what later came to be called the previous question. See the Commons' Journal for May 25, 1604: "Much Labour to keep the Bill from the Question at that Time; and agreed, at last, that a Question should be made, Whether the Bill shall presently be put to Question: And, upon Question, *Resolved* in the Affirmative." John Hatsell cited this as the "first instance I have found of putting the previous question". See *Precedents of Proceedings*, II (3d ed., London, 1796), p. 104.

thereof ought to make noe question at all concerning it, for of course, it is to bee read the second tyme, yet if it bee spoken against, and the question called for, by the house, the question must bee, not whether it shalbee read the second tyme, but whether it shalbee reiected. But if it bee a Bill that cometh from the Lords and bee spoken unto, and the question bee called for, The question must bee whether it shalbee secondly read, and if this be denied, Then whether it shall not bee reiected. But the speaker doth usually forbear to make any question upon the first readeing, except hee bee extraordinarily urged there unto by the house,⁸ and in this case, hee may put the house in minde, that it is a rare and usuall [*sic*] thinge to put Bills to question, and soe to hazard the reiecting of them upon the first readeing and may for that reason move them to forbear the question.

Upon the second Reading of a Bill, and after his Report thereof made to the house, and after hee hath told them that it is the second Readeing of the Bill hee ought to pause a while, before he putteth the question, for upon the second tyme of Reading, is the proper tyme to speake to Bills: If after a pretty distance of time noe man will speake against it for forme or matter, but if such as speake doe speake for it; Hee ought to make the question for the Ingrossing thereof:⁹ But it wilbee best content to the house, first to aske them whether they will bee pleased hee should put that question, for it is not usuall.

If any speak against the Bill wch many times is done for fforms sake, by some wch well enough like it, that soe the Bill being spoaken against for the forme may bee comitted (wch if it bee not excepted unto, for forme it may not bee) then after an expectation for a while whether any more will speake, the question must bee for the Comitteeing, if the greater voice bee against the Comitting Then the question must bee for the Ingrossing.

The forme of putting the question is this As many as are of opinion, that this Bill should bee Ingrossed say (Yea) and after the affirmative voice given. As many as are of opinion that it shall not bee Ingrossed say (No), in like maner all other questions, must bee put in the affirmative first, and then in the Negative.

If it bee a Bill wch comes from the Lords there ought to bee noe question put on the first Readeing but on the second Readeing the question must bee for the Comitting of it, then the Bill must bee reade the third tyme, and then the question must bee put for the passing.

Upon the third Readeing of a Bill the question must bee for the passing. But at this time of all others, the Speaker ought to bee more sparing and deliberate in putting it to the question, because this is the fatall tyme of the Bill. June 23 Eliz. Popham being then Speaker, was reprehended by the house for speakeing to such bills, as he favoured wthout. license and preventing the opinions of others by hasteneing the question. where hee disliked.¹⁰

⁸ See Hakewill, *The Manner How Statutes Are Enacted*, p. 16: "But usually when any such debate is upon the first reading . . . the Speaker doth forbear to make any question at all thereupon, except he be much pressed thereto."

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 20: "If after a pritty distance of time no man speake against the *Bill* for matrer [*sic*] or forme, he may make the question for the engrossing thereof".

¹⁰ See the Commons' Journal for March 16, 1580/1: "Mr. *Cope* standing up, and offering to speak to the House, said unto Mr. Speaker, and Charged him, with these Speeches; that is to say, That Mr. Speaker, in some such Matters as he hath favoured, he

But the maner of passing of Bills is more amply handled in the Chapter concerning the passing of Bills.¹¹ To wch may bee added this Rule, that in putting of questions, upon the comitting of a Bill, or upon a Motion if it may bee conceived, that many gave noe voice at all, or that by a second putting of the question it may bee better discerned whether voice is the greater, such questions may bee putt the second time, if the house please to give way thereunto. But if the question bee for passing of a Bill, and that it hath been putt in the Affirmative, and Negative, it cannot bee putt the second tyme, but of necessity it must bee decided by deviding of the house. As it was agreed for a Rule 1^o Jac Ia. Sess. 19 May.¹² See the Bill for shooteing in game Eadem Sess 2 Apr 1604. Sr frauncis Goodwins Case.¹³

If after the question putt in the affirmative, and before it bee putt in the negative, any man stand up to speake hee ought to bee heard, and after hee hath spoken the question ought to bee put againe, both in the affirmative and negative, for by his speech others may bee drawne to bee of the affirmative than gave their voices formerly that way. And soe likewise if hee speake in the negative, others perhaps may bee drawne to agree wth him, then those who upon the first putting of the question weare for the Negative And therefore the Speaker must not bee hasty in putting of the question in the Negative.

After the question put in the Negative, and affirmative noe man may be permitted to speake to that question, but the voice bee doubtfull, the house must bee devided, And if upon putting of the question in the Negative there bee but one that is heard to seye no It hath been scene that hee being a man of speciall Noate hath been desired by the house to discover to them the reason of his differing in opinion from the whole house. And upon his voluntary declaracon thereof, the whole house hath changed theire former Resolution soe it happened in 13 Eliz. upon the question put upon the passing of the Bill concerneing leases made by Ecclesiasticall persons, at wch tyme the only Negative voice was Mr Morris afterwards the Attorney of the Cot. of Wards. Whose reason being at the request of the house discovered, soe farre prevailed wth them, that they suppressed that Bill, and entreated him, to drawe a newe one wch afterwards passed both houses, and is the Statute now in force; But this is a rare and unusuall maner of proceeding.¹⁴

hath, without License of this House, spoken to the Bill; and in some other Cases, which he did not favour and like of, he would prejudice the Speeches of the Members of this House, with the Question".

¹¹ Presumably Hakewill's printed tractate, cited above.

¹² May 19, 1604. See the Commons' Journal: "The Bill put to Question, and, by Voice, dashed. Urged to be doubtful, and a double Question pressed, but forborn; and this Rule agreed:

No double Question upon the Passing of a Bill; though sometimes upon the Comitting, it is put double, if the Voice or Question be not clear."

¹³ *Ibid.*, April 2, 1604: "Upon this Passage [after a discussion as to conferring with the judges in Goodwin's case] it was urged for a Rule, That a Question being once made, and carried . . . cannot be questioned again, but must stand as a Judgement of the House."

¹⁴ I have not been able to find any reference to this incident in the Commons' Journals for 13 Elizabeth or in D'Ewes's *Journals*. Presumably the reference is to the statute "Against fraudulent deeds made by spiritual persons", the third paragraph of which deals with leases made by ecclesiastics. See *The Statutes at Large, from Magna Charta to . . . 1761*, collected by Danby Pickering (London, 1763), VI, 281-82.

Now touching the deviding of the house for the deciding of questions,¹⁵ In cases where the voice is doubtfull the maner is thus, After it is soe agreed, that the house shalbee devided The Speaker comannedeth the Serieant to cleere the outer Roome, wch being donne and soe reported by the Serieant the Speaker nameth foure Tellers, Two of wch. are of those wch. were of the Affirmative parte and other two of the Negative. Then those of the Affirmative pte doe in most cases goe forth, and they being gone out the ffoure Tellers haveing usually staves in their hands for the better numbering of those that sitt by pointing to them, doe first tell them, and being agreed betweene themselves of the number, they doe then stand in that passage, wch is within the Parliamt house doore. Two of them on each side, and doe number those that went out, as they are coming in, and agreeing betweene themselves of the number, They all foure come up to the Table, and declare to the Speaker the number on both parts. first nameing the least number and then the greatest, wch. the Speaker publishes to the house and pronunceth the Judgmt. with the greatest number.

If the question bee for the passing of a Bill, those of the Affirmative pte doe alwaies goe forth, and those of the Negative pte sitteth still (wch. privilege of sitting is given to them, because they are against Innovacon, wch every new Bill bringeth in though it bee never soe good in appearance. And the ancyeat course hath beene, If those for the Bill are the greatest number, That those wch sate in the Negative should goe forth, and bring in the Bill, and present it to the Speaker, thereby to acknowledge their consent to it, and their Error in being against it: But this hath not beene used of late tymes.¹⁶

¹⁵ There is no discussion of divisions in Hakewill's printed tractate, but he refers (p. 22) to "another place" for a discussion of them. Perhaps this manuscript on the speaker is the other place.

¹⁶ This did occur on June 25, 1604. See the Journal: "Upon Motion, such as sat against the Bill, went forth of the House, and brought in the Bill in their Hands: Which is according to ancient Order, and was now moved, and done (once in a Parliament) for preserving Memory of the Order; and so expressed by the Mover." See also Lord Egmont's report of a conversation with Lord Wilmington in February, 1730: "He [Wilmington] said it was quite wrong to mention majorities and minorities at all, for what is once carried is the Act of the House, and that anciently, when a question had been carried upon a division, the minority were obliged to go out by themselves to show their assent to what the majority had carried against them". John Perceval, Earl of Egmont, *Diary* (London, 1920), I, 44.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

GENERAL AND ANCIENT HISTORY

Materials toward a History of Witchcraft. Collected by HENRY CHARLES LEA. Three volumes. Arranged and edited by ARTHUR C. HOWLAND, Henry Charles Lea Professor of European History, University of Pennsylvania. With an Introduction by George Lincoln Burr. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1939. Pp. xlv, 434; 435-1038; 1039-1548. \$12.00.)

ALMOST a lifelong interest of the late Henry Charles Lea was the acquisition and study of printed and manuscript materials relating to both sorcery and witchcraft in Europe. As far back as 1888, in *A History of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages*, he gave of his already abundant store of knowledge to furnish two scholarly chapters on the incidents arising from belief in occult practices, which, after half a century, illumine the dark spots more brightly than some recent and more pretentious essays. From 1906 Dr. Lea devoted his attention entirely to the preparation of a major compendium treating of witchcraft rather than sorcery and, although, as he wrote, "somewhat appalled by the extent of the literature", persevered dauntlessly in his mammoth undertaking until four days before his death three years afterwards. To the late Professor George L. Burr fell the preliminary labor of sifting the accumulated manuscripts, evaluating the excerpts and annotations, and advising on publication. His efforts toward these ends clashing with prior engagements, he, in turn, had to relinquish the task, and, in 1928, the papers passed to the able hands of Professor Arthur C. Howland, who prepared them for the press and became responsible for the systematic arrangement and verification of references.

The initial editorial problem was to evolve a scheme whereby the "chaos of evidence and of opinion" should be so presented as to constitute a "logical development of the theme", following, in fact, much the procedure of Dr. Lea himself, as outlined long before in his preface to *Superstition and Force* (1866) and carried out in later works. Planning on these lines Professor Howland, with diligence beyond praise, has sorted and grouped the "scattered notes" under four well-chosen heads, showing "first, the older beliefs forming the basis for the witch mania of later times; second, how these beliefs were moulded into a logical system which directed popular opinion and guided the actions of ecclesiastical and secular authorities; third, the effects of the witch belief on theologians, jurists, officials, and common people in the period of its widest acceptance, the later sixteenth and earlier seven-

teenth centuries; and fourth, the decline of belief in witchcraft". Each of these main heads is divided into four or five sections and yet further split up into a number of sub-sections chronologically arranged.

The desired result has been achieved most admirably, and we have in orderly array the fruit of Dr. Lea's years of reading and epitomizing enriched with his verbatim, if brief, running commentary. His enterprise in exploiting archives and libraries is fully established, and the wealth of citation, digest, and collation is panoramic in its range of divergent and overlapping views of the early fathers, medieval theologians, jurists, physicians, astrologers, philosophers, and Protestant reformers, unfolding a wide retrospect of the varying reactions to the doctrines touching the black arts, demoniacal possession, and exorcism. Here, too, in stirring opposition to the overwhelming evidence of human credulity, are manifested the sturdy opinions of the forthright critics—the Catholics, Ponzinibio and Loos, and the Protestants, Weyer, Scot, and Bekker. Amid the welter of superstition, ignorance of natural laws, and illogical dialectics the transition from *maleficae* to witches is traced, and we follow each phase in the absorption of the magical arts by heresy, to see, in turn, the increasing doubts and development of understanding leading to the final controversies, with revision of the methods of trial and court procedure and ultimate removal of witchcraft from the calendar of crime.

In setting forth the result of Dr. Lea's toil Professor Howland frankly points out that the collection is far from exhaustive, and the student seeking a comprehensive history of witch prosecution and extermination down the ages will still have to face an extensive search. The sections are uneven in scope and quantity, for, while largely transcribing generally, Dr. Lea tended to concentrate "regionally" and at his death, apart from his survey of early demonology, had satisfied his requirements fully only so far as to cover the German holocausts. With French authorities his comprehensive opening had not yet led directly to such important writers as Nicolas Remy and Henry Boguet, and England's share in the records is meager indeed, with no notice of the writings of Thomas Potts, John Stearne, and Edward Fairfax, as is that of Scotland, unrepresented by King James and Robert Pitcairn, but fortunately one can fall back upon Dr. George F. Black's comprehensive calendar of *Cases of Witchcraft in Scotland*. Of Spain, dealt with in *A History of the Inquisition of Spain* (1907) by Dr. Lea, the present notes are comparatively brief, and wanting also is the little that is known of Scandinavian and Irish witchcraft.

Professor Burr, in his informative introduction, has commented upon some of the chief authorities remaining untouched by Dr. Lea, and while it is, perhaps, ungracious to look a gift-horse in the mouth, one cannot but regret that the editor has not added a formal bibliography of untapped sources. May we hope that at least one more volume is under construction, to

be enhanced by that crowning glory of historical research—an index? Many of Dr. Lea's abstracts, in particular those relating to England and Scotland, were obtained at second-hand from treatises of much later date. Thus the *Witches of Warboys*, 1593, is quoted only under Boulton, 1715; while for Dr. Fian, 1591, we have to turn to the year 1820, and the notorious Hopkins, the Commonwealth fanatic, is to be found under Hutchinson, 1718—a straggling disposition which, without cross-references or inclusion in the list of contents, tends to make immediate discovery of a wanted authority an uncertain process. These, however, are minor shortcomings in a book of inestimable value, and students have been placed under an immense debt of gratitude to all those responsible for promoting and forwarding this most worthy addition to the historical monuments of Dr. Lea.

London.

C. L'ESTRANGE EWEN.

La tenure. [Recueils de la Société Jean Bodin, III.] (Brussels: Nouvelle Société d'Éditions. 1938. Pp. 333.)

HERE are the fourteen papers, with one addition, that were presented at the third annual conference of the Société Jean Bodin held at Brussels in the summer of 1938 on the general subject of land tenure, the theme chosen for the year. The communications cover different ages in ten countries in Europe, northern Africa, and eastern Asia and are arranged in such order that those on the related fields and ages follow and complement one another. Indeed, the papers of the two earlier conferences, on vassalage and serfdom, respectively, may with profit be collated by the careful reader with those of the present one, inasmuch as the countries treated and the writers thereon are much the same in all three.

The masterly paper on the tenures of Old Egypt by Jacques Pirenne is followed by one by C. Præaux on Lagidian Egypt and another on the long leases in Ptolemaic and Byzantine Egypt by R. Taubenschlag. Next, W. Kamps gives a remarkable analysis of the evolution of the Greek emphyteusis and its reception in Roman law, incidentally dealing hard blows at some of the venerated theories of Mitteis. J. Carcopino follows with a short comment on Roman tenure, necessarily avoiding themes that are controversial or already familiar but stressing the effect of North African developments on imperial legislation. These five papers admirably supplement and reinforce one another.

P. Petot condenses into six pages the general problems and their possible solutions concerning the noble and villein tenures of medieval France. C.-E. Perrin, whose larger works are well known, writes on tenures manorial and *à cens* in Lorraine in the instructive manner that one would expect from him. A study by Powicke, based on the curia regis rolls of 1213-15 and the Wotton Underwood documents at Huntington Library, throws fresh light upon the English free tenant. This is preceded by a striking communication,

forty-six pages long, by Joüon des Longrais, the author of a great book on English seisin, on the history of English tenure, in all its complexity and peculiar evolution, followed by a succinct comparison with French tenures. The writer modestly disclaims originality, but I can hardly doubt that, to say the least, the first documented part must contain many a fresh interpretation and freshly posed problem. Moreover, one will find nowhere else so lucid and comprehensive a summary of English tenurial history and of its divergence from the French as is found in these pages. Ch. Verlinden on Portugal and A. Eck on Russia, both masters in their spheres, complete the survey of European tenure.

A. Gonthier adds to his previous essays on Japanese vassalage and serfdom a paper on the great domain, *shō*, of the same country. It is heroic to crowd twelve centuries into ten pages and to perform the feat without the aid of first-hand instruments. There are two philological studies of the Chinese and Japanese terminologies of land, by H. Maspero and M. C. Haguénanier. Eminent scholars of the respective languages, both writers will probably grant that linguistic arguments concerning institutions are susceptible of radical differences of opinion and are seldom convincing. It should be added, however, that Maspero presented in the last *Recueils* extended institutional essays on the land regime of China, which need to be read together with his present contribution.

After a brief discussion by R. Maunier of the primitive forms of contract, not of tenure, in Morocco, Professor Eck provides, in accordance with the custom of the earlier conferences, a broad synthesis of the results of the entire symposium. He seeks a common sociological cause of the rise of tenurial systems in different countries and points to five main types thereof which varying conditions in different ages and places have produced—all in abstract terms and without specifying the various countries or periods.

Yale University.

K. ASAKAWA.

A History of World Civilization. By JAMES EDGAR SWAIN, Muhlenberg College. (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company. 1938. Pp. xix, 615. \$4.00.)

Story of Civilization. By CARL L. BECKER, Cornell University, and FREDERIC DUNCALF, University of Texas. (New York: Silver Burdett Company. 1938. Pp. xv, 863, xix. \$2.40.)

The Growth of European Civilization. By A. E. R. BOAK, ALBERT HYMA, PRESTON SLOSSON, University of Michigan. (New York: F. S. Crofts and Company. 1938. Pp. xxv, 488, 613. \$4.50.)

To a reviewer asking how histories of civilization should be expected to differ from other histories of the past Becker and Duncalf reply by defining civilization as men's "ways of making a living, the tools they invented to help them . . . the forms of government and law they have devised, the

works of art that have seemed to them beautiful and the religious and philosophical and scientific ideas that have seemed to them true". Histories of civilization, then, should be devoted particularly to tracing the evolution of habits, skills, institutions, and ideas among men.

Of the three books before us Swain's keeps most consistently to the pattern thus laid down. Each chapter contains, besides a brief account of European political events, sections on government, economic and social life, art, literature, religion, philosophy, and learning, with now and again reminders of contemporary civilizations in Asia and America. The period from 1500 to 1789 is called the age of national cultures, from 1789 to 1919 of international culture. Since 1919 we have broken with previous tradition, and there is prospect of greater impermanence ahead. "Perhaps wars are inevitable, even desirable."

Becker and Duncalf's attractive book for younger students summarizes in lively style Western achievement from Neanderthal man to 1750, with honorable mention of Buddha and Confucius. From 1750 the pace slows down, and the course of modern civilization is depicted as, first, a political movement which, by 1909, had overthrown absolute monarchies and set up representative governments, and, second, an industrial revolution that brought in the machine age and raised a host of bewildering problems and conflicts that baffle the peoples of the world and the lawmakers whom they choose. Accordingly dictatorships are overthrowing democracies. In this luminous sketch we begrudge the chapter bestowed on the military vicissitudes of the Great War. The book demands, instead, one on present-day civilization comparable to the Jacques Bonhomme chapter that lights up eighteenth century France.

Boak, Hyma, and Slosson's work is much bulkier than the other two. It comes in either one or two volumes, the latter dividing at 1500. The additional material consists largely of narrative and political history, interspersed in which are the chapters on "Intellectual Movements", "March of Industry", "Life in the Twentieth Century", etc. Clearer distinctions are drawn between such things as feudalism and the manorial system and fascist states and Soviet Russia. For the most part the treatment is well balanced and well sustained. In a college course for which a fairly solid background of politics is wanted this should prove an excellent text. All three books include illustrations, maps, and bibliographies.

Criticisms in detail may, of course, be made. Medieval, Renaissance, and Reformation ideas are rather too inextricably mingled in Swain's seventh chapter. Becker and Duncalf call Aristotle the founder of nominalism and label a painting of the fifteenth century Louvre a specimen of twelfth century architecture. Boak, Hyma, and Slosson spend time on the Thirty Years' War that might preferably have gone to Galileo's physics or to Locke's theories of natural rights and property and their consequences. As records of

civilizations all would be enriched by additions of material from such studies of social development along special lines as Mumford's *Technics and Civilization* and Hogben's *Science and the Citizen*.

Wells College.

L. R. LOOMIS.

The Rise of Anglo-American Friendship: A Study in World Politics, 1898-1906. By LIONEL M. GELBER. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1938. Pp. 292. \$3.75.)

THIS is history written with a political purpose. But the author makes no effort at concealment. Throughout his monograph, from preface to conclusion, he frankly reveals his design. He ardently desires collaboration between the United States and Great Britain in dealing with the present momentous problems of world politics. His work is intended to serve as a background for the intervention of the United States in 1917-18 and for the further assistance which he hopes will be forthcoming in case the security of the British Empire is menaced by another hostile attack headed by Germany.

With few exceptions Mr. Gelber has diligently investigated the sources. He failed to examine—at any rate he does not cite—Orestes Ferrara's recent work on the diplomacy of the Spanish-American War, and his notes and bibliography indicate that he is not a master of the German language. In other respects, however, his diligence deserves high commendation.

The reader of the monograph should bear in mind the primary objective of the author, his scant employment of German as a tool of research, and the further fact that most of the sources bearing upon the subject he treats were published after 1916 and are therefore likely to be partisan. If this is done, the work can be read with profit, for it is really an important contribution to the history of Anglo-American relations during the period. It deals not merely with difficulties and conflicts in the mutual intercourse of the two powers, such as commercial friction and boundary disputes, but also with their contacts in larger matters of world politics. In dealing with the latter the author exhibits impressive talent, seizing the numerous threads of vast and complicated events and artfully weaving them together in the fabric of a clear and intriguing narrative. In order to acquire a balanced conception of the whole it is only necessary to be on one's guard—to discount slightly the role of England here and there and occasionally to ask whether Germany's motives were actually as reprehensible as portrayed.

On at least two topics the author presents no new information. He fails to clear up the controversy regarding the extent to which Sir Julian Pauncefote participated in the concerted efforts of the European powers to prevent the Spanish-American War, and in giving England sole credit for the frustration of the attempted concert he conveys an erroneous impression of the attitudes of Russia and France. Moreover, he completely ignores the interesting historical problem of whether the joint coercive action against Vene-

zuela in 1902-1903 was initiated by England or Germany, seemingly taking it for granted that Germany was the instigator.

In presenting a detailed account of Theodore Roosevelt's two excursions into world politics—his interposition in the Russo-Japanese War and in the Moroccan Crisis of 1905-1906—Mr. Gelber makes his major contribution. His treatment of these two subjects appears to be definitive. From a perusal of this section of the monograph one emerges with the impression not merely that Roosevelt's contribution was not so important as is usually supposed but that in some respects he lacked a clear understanding of the complicated factors involved. Mr. Gelber's attitude toward Roosevelt, however, is friendly throughout, and it must be admitted that the strenuous president acquitted himself remarkably well for a man so inexperienced in the wiles of European diplomacy.

It is unnecessary to comment here upon the prudence or imprudence from the standpoint of the United States of Anglo-American collaboration in the present world crisis. The reviewer desires, however, to make his own position clear. In some measure he belongs to the "revisionist" school in his conception of the causes of the World War. Nevertheless he entertains affection for English civilization and admiration for British statesmen and diplomats of the early years of this century. In assuming a more moderate attitude toward the Germany of Wilhelm II he does not consider it necessary to disparage England.

The University of Chicago.

J. FRED RIPPY.

Egyptian Architecture as Cultural Expression. By E. BALDWIN SMITH, Princeton University. (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company. 1938. Pp. xviii, 264. \$6.00.)

THE reviewer's first duty (and pleasure) is to greet an authoritative descriptive treatise on the surviving monuments of Egyptian architecture, brought up to date by taking full account of the enormous activity of the Egyptologists since the World War. As a convenient compendium and handbook it should instantly take its place in every college library.

One has to read the volume rather carefully and to the very end in order to discover the true implications of its attractive title. By "cultural expression" the author wishes to deny the existence of Egyptian architecture as aesthetic expression, as pure art in a modern sense, and to affirm its utilitarian origins and merely traditional aspects. Temples and royal palaces are only mechanical elaborations of house forms inherited from predynastic times. The insistence on this approach explains the apparently disproportionate emphasis on the earlier periods: the book is more than a third finished before the Great Pyramids are reached.

The prior existence of an authoritative treatise on *Ancient Egyptian Masonry* by Clarke and Engelbach has led the author to reduce to a mini-

mum this aspect of his subject, just as the accessibility of magnificent large-sized photographic illustrations in Jequier's *L'architecture et la décoration dans l'ancienne Égypte* has presumably prompted his exclusive use of plates of line drawings with their uniform but rather monotonous appearance. These are carefully, often exquisitely, rendered by the author himself but have nonetheless been glimpsed through the camera's rather than the draftsman's eye since they are patently based on snapshots.

The author has deliberately chosen to write much of his book as sober description, following ground plans—a time-honored procedure enshrined in the guidebooks. The present reviewer has conscientiously compared the descriptions of such typical monuments as the Abydos temple, Abu Simbel, Edfu, and Dendera with the corresponding pages in Baedeker's *Egypt* and must honestly admit that the world's greatest guidebook still supplies more and better information. Throughout the present work there is little critical synthesis and less imagination, until the final chapter, which is so outstandingly good that every English-speaking student in the field will have to read and remember it. Here Anglo-Saxon empiricism shrewdly wins the battle over Teutonic metaphysic, which the author in general chooses to ignore. (Is it unkind to note in this connection that German titles in the footnotes are frequently garbled?) If we could have had two hundred pages in the spirit of the last fifteen, we should have had a great book of international importance. As it is, we have a good, because a pre-eminently useful, one—which, after all, meets the author's own verdict on the architecture to which he has devoted so much time and care.

Bryn Mawr College.

RHYS CARPENTER.

The Greeks in Bactria & India. By W. W. TARN. (Cambridge: University Press; New York: Macmillan Company. 1938. Pp. xxiii, 539. \$8.00.)

THIS is "the story of a very great adventure"—of Greek settlement in Babylonia, Iran, and India; of the Greek kingdom of Bactria, "a perfect illustration of a March State"; and, not least, of the author's own adventure: "I have dreamt of this book for forty years." A further key to the value of the study is at the same time a challenge: "It is one of the misfortunes of ancient history that we become hypnotised into writing as though the importance of a thing were somehow proportionate to the amount of information about it which has survived." To his effort to restore proper balance to Hellenistic history Dr. Tarn has devoted 413 pages of heavily annotated text, followed by an excursus and twenty-one appendixes comprising an additional hundred pages.

Besides a thorough exposition of the varied sources for the history of the Middle East in the Seleucid and Parthian periods, the book provides numerous detailed studies in the geography of the area, brilliant analyses of the impacts of Greek on Asiatic, a reappraisal of the significance of the

Seleucid Empire in Asiatic history, and an attempt at reconstruction of the political history of Bactria and India during the Hellenistic period.

According to Dr. Tarn, not only Greek rule in Bactria and India but the achievements of Hellenism in all the trans-Euphrates East must be ascribed to men who were essentially Greek by blood. He argues not only for a larger Greek population than is generally assumed but also for a proportionate number of Greek women settlers. He not only minimizes the extent of intermarriage with Asiatics but denies that Greek settlement east of the Euphrates produced natives who had become thoroughly Hellenized. Developed from this view is the insistence on the ephemeral quality of Greek influence on the Middle East. The author describes a single "culture sphere" extending, in the second century B.C., from the Adriatic to the Indus Valley and emphasizes the *floruit* of Eastern Hellenism during the Parthian period, with its great contribution to the West in literature and learning. But he finds remaining as a contribution to the later East only the Seleucid administrative organization and an advanced degree of urbanization which included "native" as well as "Greek" *poleis*. By such interpretation of the evidence Greek settlement in the East was largely an Argosy, and so, truly, an adventure.

Another great adventure of the book is the story of the House of Euthydemus. One of the puzzles of Middle Eastern history has been the large number of Greek rulers who rose to apparent independence in that area, many of them unmistakably contemporaries. Dr. Tarn portrays them as all, with the exception of Eucratides, members of one family, characterized by almost unique mutual loyalty as they discarded allegiance to the Seleucid dynasty and erected an empire in Bactria and India. He holds that, unlike the Seleucidae, they based their effort on Alexander's dream, an imperial partnership of Greek with Iranian and Indian. As striking as their rise was the fall of this family, in the third great adventure of the book. According to Dr. Tarn's reconstruction, Antiochus IV conceived and, but for his untimely death, would probably have carried through in Babylon and in the Middle East a great scheme for the rebuilding of the Seleucid Empire, which in the West was doomed by the expansion of Rome. In the resultant clash of these two Greek programs for the Middle East Eucratides, who appears as both general and cousin of Antiochus, was victorious, but the struggle so weakened both sides that the final victory fell to Parthians, Sakai, and Yueh-chi.

Whether consciously or not Dr. Tarn has followed the methods of earlier modern historians in the self-assurance and vividness of the story he has told. In thus permitting himself the pleasure of complete reconstruction of a phase of history the author has exposed himself to natural criticism. Many students, certainly among them the reviewer, will not accept *as proved* theories such as the program of Antiochus IV, the blood relationship of the

Bactrian princes and their resurrection of the dream of Alexander, the absence of "Eurasian" and "Levantine" elements in Eastern Hellenism, as well as many points of geographical and chronological detail. But to the reviewer, at least, Dr. Tarn, as the first historian to attempt a formal history of the Hellenistic Middle East, is to be commended for presenting a complete picture even though much of the interpretation is conjectural and some of it erroneous. Certainly even the captious should accept pioneering synthesis when accompanied by the mass of facts and the wealth of cross reference and sound criticism of which the author is an acknowledged master.

The University of Michigan.

ROBERT H. McDOWELL.

Institutions des Séleucides. Par E. BIKERMAN. [Haut-Commissariat de la République française en Syrie et au Liban, Service des antiquités, Bibliothèque archéologique et historique.] (Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner. 1938. Pp. 268. 150 fr.)

A book on the organization of the Seleucid Empire has been badly needed for some time. The new interest in the Hellenistic world of the East, due in part to the results of recent excavations and in part to the recognition of the important role played by the East in the later development of both the Parthian and the Byzantine Empires, has focused attention on the great empire of the Seleucids. A wealth of new material scattered through expedition reports and periodicals has made imperative a new study of the subject. M. Bikerman has gathered together this material in a most useful volume.

The faults of the book are largely inherent in the nature of the subject. M. Bikerman in successive chapters deals with the crown, the court circle, the army, the finance, the civic organization, the coinage, and the royal cult. Naturally his evidence is based almost wholly on the Greek and Roman sources and the archaeological evidence of Syria and Asia Minor. There is, therefore, almost no attempt to deal with the eastern half of the empire. One may infer that the organization of the East was similar to that in the West, but it remains in M. Bikerman's book only an inference. Actually there is good reason to believe that considerable differences existed. M. Bikerman concludes that in the matter of calendars individual cities were left free to choose their own system of dating and that in the question of the royal cult freedom in choosing the royal titles was also a matter of preference. Naturally, also, the amount of freedom and the royal favors granted to cities in Asia Minor and Syria, cities which could and often did accept the sovereignty of Attalids or Ptolemies, would differ considerably from those granted to cities in the interior, especially in the eastern half of the empire. When, therefore, we accept M. Bikerman's conclusions for the West, we do not necessarily assume the same for the East.

Secondly, there must have been considerable development and change in the course of the Seleucid regime. In particular, after the loss of Asia Minor

in the defeat at Magnesia and the conquest of Mesopotamia by the Parthians a complete military and financial reorganization of the empire was essential. Of this change and development in the Seleucid state one finds little in this volume. An index allows one to pick out the regulations and changes due to individual monarchs, but the question of development in the early period and change in the later is not clearly enough presented.

In general M. Bikerman takes a very conservative stand, a stand which is safest in the paucity of our evidence on so many important questions. He leaves the question of the definition of "katoecoi" quite open, suggesting merely that it means different things in different places. He hesitates to accept as the definition of the term "bibliophylax" the director of the royal chancery as opposed to the civil recorder (p. 209) and remains firm in his opinion that the Seleucid calendar at Seleucia began in October, 312 B.C., though McDowell (*Coins from Seleucia*, pp. 150 ff.) has shown clearly that at least in the Parthian period the civic year began in the spring. The enormous number of recruits required for the highly trained phalanx was, he believes, drawn from Macedonian settlements in the empire. This might be true for the west coast and Asia Minor, but what was the situation in the East? Was a phalanx regularly employed on the Eastern frontier, and if not, what type of force was employed?

The fact is that there are many questions that cannot be answered as to the organization of the Seleucid Empire. It is not M. Bikerman's fault if at present so many vital problems are insoluble. There is a great need for further exploration in Mesopotamia and the Eastern provinces. M. Bikerman's volume is indispensable to all students of the Hellenistic world and a most welcome contribution to our knowledge. His combination of the literary material with so much new evidence is a great step forward in the study of Seleucid history.

The University of Michigan.

CLARK HOPKINS.

Augustus: Studi in occasione del Bimillenario Augusteo. (Rome: Tipografia della R. Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei. 1938. Pp. 444.)

AUGUSTUS was one of the most successful and fortunate of rulers. He is fortunate again in having his two-thousandth birthday occur in an age which is ready to acknowledge his particular greatness. His homeland even considers him as the distinguished model for present politics. Recent historians and jurists have been especially attracted by his cautious development of that type of government which was to endure for centuries. The bimillenary birthday of Virgil, nine years ago, gave another impulse to a new appreciation of the Augustan era. Thus it was a well-timed decision of the Accademia dei Lincei to celebrate the jubilee of Augustus by a collective work devoted to his varied activities and influences. The book is, in a certain respect, an Italian counterpart to Volume X of the *Cambridge*

Ancient History (1934). They resemble each other in sound scholarship and attractive presentation. The Italian publication is characterized by a panegyric tone which is not entirely free from political sentiment, but which is at any rate justified when one compares the *pax Augusta* with the decades before and after.

Each of the twelve contributors is an outstanding representative in the field. Aldo Ferrabino opens the volume with a proper analysis of the emperor's achievement in the light of Vellejus Paterculus, Suetonius, Cassius Dio, and Tacitus. He criticizes them, however, as too bourgeois-minded to appraise truly the ruler's mission and confronts them with the facts as recorded by Augustus himself and as exalted by the poets. The legal nature of the Augustan constitution has, in the past thirty years, been the subject of about as many monographs. Nothing really new can be added. Yet Pietro de Francisci vigorously takes up the matter in order to defend his favorite theory that the emperor's reforms represented a revolutionary transformation of the old order: they resulted, in his opinion, in an essentially monarchic regime, although formally the traditional institutions and procedures were maintained. The complete lack of direct constitutional amendments is the more impressive since the epoch was so rich in other statutory enactments. Vincenzo Arangio-Ruiz discusses that legislation with all the workmanship for which he is known. He gives a clarifying survey of the princeps's reforms concerning legal procedure, criminal law, manumission of slaves, marriage and divorce, etc., always emphasizing both legal import and social aspect. The fact that the law came to be the greatest and most lasting legacy of the Romans is primarily to be credited to the jurists whose activities in this period brought the law to its classical stage. What was the nucleus of their accomplishments? In a masterly fashion Salvatore Riccobono illustrates some of the technical devices which enabled them to change ancient formalistic regulations into equitable and flexible principles and thus to render effective legal transactions according to what the parties had agreed upon.

Limitation of space forces me to be brief with regard to the other essays. Giuseppe Cardinali deals with the territorial and especially the financial administration in the several parts of the empire, Arnaldo Momigliano with problems of military reorganization. Raffaele Pettazoni examines Augustus's religious policy, Nicola Festa the literature, and Domenico Mustelli the art of the age. Articles follow on Augustan coinage (Ettore Gàbrici) and public works (Roberto Paribeni). Angelo Monteverdi, finally, presents the emperor in the tradition of the Middle Ages.

University of Washington.

ERNST LEVY.

Life of Christ. By HALL CAINE. (New York: Doubleday, Doran and Company. 1938. Pp. xxi, 1310. \$3.50.)

WILLIAM Sanday, in his day the *doyen* of British New Testament

scholarship, once remarked that a truly satisfactory life of Jesus could be written only by one who combined the scholarship of Neander and the literary style of Renan with the moral insight of Seeley. The late Hall Caine's qualifications, such as they were, could be reckoned solely under the second of these prerequisites. But Renan was a scholar as well as a stylist, one of the leading Orientalists of his day—Caine merely a novelist who set himself the task of rummaging about for whatever facts or fancies might seem relevant to the elucidation of his theme.

The theme was noble enough: "It is . . . the object of this book to show, as far as my humble powers will permit, that the greatest fact in the story of the human family has not been concerned with its material welfare, with the battles it has fought and won, or the empires it has seen rise and fall, or with the revelations it has made in the realm of mind, or the marvellous discoveries it has achieved in the world of nature, but with the development of the human soul from age to age as a seeker after God and, above all, with the silent and perhaps unconscious growth of the Christ hope in the heart of man—the divine Messianic dream of a deliverer, a Redeemer, a Saviour, which, through all the travail of his wanderings, his sufferings, his sins and his repentance, has gone before him like a pillar of fire by night and a pillar of cloud by day." I quote this, from the end of the preface, because it is the best passage in the book.

The author was a pious man, apparently with Fundamentalist or old-fashioned Evangelical predispositions, who perhaps later turned liberal and all but exhausted himself—he wrote three million words in the first draft, abridged to 650,000 by a literary executor—in the attempt to write such a life of Jesus. He began with the creation of the world and, following the Bible and Josephus, traced the chequered course of patriarchal and then of Hebrew history down to the coming of Christ (the life of Christ begins on page 253). He apparently read everything he could lay hands on—except the right books; and he possessed simply nothing in the way of a critical historical judgment. Facts and fancies were alike grist to his mill—*quicquid agunt homines farrago est libelli*. That is, a three-million-word *libellus*.

For example, man "emerged with human life in the valley of the Euphrates" and then "fled . . . to the higher lands of the mountains of southern Persia. There he existed for unknown ages. He had separated himself from the tribes called respectively the Semites and the Babylonians" (p. 25). The Gospels were written "in their first form" in Aramaic twenty to thirty years after Jesus's death, then "rewritten" in Greek thirty to forty years later on, no doubt with "serious textual changes" (p. 255). Still, Matthew had written a gospel earlier than Paul's letters, and in Aramaic—for as a tax-gatherer he doubtless had "the pen of a ready writer". This was the Gospel according to the Hebrews, "now lost, except in so far as passages have been incorporated in the Gospels that come later". It seems to have

been "of the nature of Sibylline Leaves" and "was passed from hand to hand among the disciples"; "if anybody remembered anything not included in it, he either inserted his recollection or mentioned it to Matthew for inclusion" (p. 257). And so on. After this, we are not surprised to find both Hillel and Philo among the teachers of Jesus (pp. 323 ff.), or to have Jesus's ministry begin before his baptism (p. 366).

There are some true things scattered about here and there in the book, but only a competent scholar could point them out amid the mass of rubbish Caine accumulated. Let the ordinary reader stick to the Gospels, and let the novelist stick to fiction—unless he is prepared to school himself in sound historical method and has some native gift for distinguishing fact from fancy.

Union Theological Seminary.

FREDERICK C. GRANT.

MEDIEVAL HISTORY

Schweden und das Karolingische Reich: Studien zu den Handelsverbindungen des 9. Jahrhunderts. VON HOLGER ARBMAN. [Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademiens Handlingar.] (Stockholm: Wahlström & Widstrand. 1937. Pp. 271. Plates LXXIV. 15 kr.)

IN 1931 Holger Arbman was commissioned by the academy in whose *Handlingar* this volume appears to take over and complete the publication of the rich finds which archaeological excavation uncovered a couple of generations ago at the site of the ancient Swedish town of Birka on the island of Björkö in Lake Mälär. His present treatise, translated from Swedish into German by Mrs. Arbman, constitutes *Vorstudien* to a forthcoming work on the Birka antiquities. Its purpose is to show how archaeological materials elucidate Sweden's relations with the Carolingian Empire and the influence of the civilization of Western Europe upon Swedish civilization in the Viking period (pp. 7, 248). In succinct critical discussions of Carolingian long-distance commerce and the political situation in the Baltic area during the ninth and early tenth centuries the author provides a historical introduction to his subject. The archaeological materials are described and interpreted under the following topics: Carolingian glass industry and the importation of glassware into Scandinavia; Carolingian ceramics in Sweden; foreign animal ornamentation in Scandinavia; West European plant ornamentation; filigree work; weapons; minor utensils and coins; burial customs.

In the opinion of a reviewer who can judge only as a layman in archaeological matters, Arbman has abundantly and very skillfully demonstrated that Swedish civilization in the period 800-950, as it is represented in weapons, ornaments, utensils, artistic taste, the technique of workers in the precious metals, etc., exhibits a strong West European impress while retaining its Northern characteristics. His contention that a considerable part of the

verifiably Carolingian antiquities found in Birka were brought there as articles of commerce by Frisian merchants from Duurstede (Dorestad) in the Rhine delta (pp. 14-15, 87, 98, 114-17, 171, 230-32, 238-39, 247-48) will at least not admit of specific disproof, even if it is somewhat difficult to visualize a highly organized direct trade between Duurstede and Birka at a time when Viking freebooters were all but ubiquitous in both the North Sea and the Baltic. Of considerable interest is his argument (pp. 9-13) that no complete break occurred during the ninth century in the direct commerce between the Frankish realm and the Orient and that the existence of a northern (Russian-Baltic) trade route from the Orient at this period cannot be verified.

Only one factual error has been noted—the statement (p. 120 and n. 2) that the Frankish *Royal Annals* mention under the year 782 the presence of Scandinavian merchants on the Continent. The utility of Mr. Arbman's richly informing and suggestive treatise is augmented by the clear illustrations in the text and the fine plates at the end.

The University of Chicago.

EINAR JORANSON.

Mediaeval Germany, 911-1250: Essays by German Historians. Translated with an Introduction by GEOFFREY BARRACLOUGH. Volume I, *Introduction*. Volume II, *Essays*. [Studies in Mediaeval History, edited by Geoffrey Barraclough.] (Oxford: Basil Blackwell. 1938. Pp. xii, 141; x, 305. 7s. 6d.; 12s. 6d.)

THE first of these volumes is an introduction to medieval German constitutional history, an *Einleitung* to a series of essays by contemporary German historians in three volumes, the first of which has appeared simultaneously with it as Volume II of the present publication. The essays "have been carefully selected to present a coherent and consecutive account of German history from the tenth to the thirteenth century" (I, vi). There are nine of them in Volume II: "The Historical Foundations of the German Constitution" by Theodor Mayer; "The Proprietary Church as an Element of Mediaeval Germanic Ecclesiastical Law" by Ulrich Stutz; "Franconia's Place in the Structure of Mediaeval Germany" by B. Schmeidler; "The Investiture Contest and the German Constitution" by Paul Joachimsen; "The Constitutional History of the Reformed Monasteries during the Investiture Contest" by Hans Hirsch; "The State of the Dukes of Zähringen" by Theodor Mayer; "Constitutional Reorganization and Reform under the Hohenstaufen" by Otto Freiherr von Dungern; "Feudalism and the German Constitution" by H. Mitteis; and "The Beginnings of the National State in Mediaeval Germany, and the Norman Monarchies" by Albert Brackmann. The remaining two volumes, now in preparation, are *Church, State and Christian Society at the Time of the Investiture Contest* by G. Tellenbach, translated by R. F. Bennett; and *Kingship, Law and Constitution*, by F.

Kern, translated by S. B. Chrimes. The successive volumes are not intended to be a series of textbooks but a collection of studies selected to help the student to understand the major problems of the history of Germany, not of the Empire, during the Middle Ages, though it is hoped to devote a fourth volume of essays later to the Empire and imperial policy from Charlemagne onwards (I, 9, n. 14; 35, n. 22). With one exception the essays so far published represent German historical scholarship during the present century, "which . . . has revised many of the standard views of nineteenth-century writers" (I, ix). One was published in 1894, two in 1913, one in 1922, one in 1930, two in 1933, one in 1936. The reader must expect to find few references to Waitz and Hauck and Schröder and the *Jahrbücher*, "because they answer questions which are no longer vital. . . . So long as the development of the German people is measured by outworn standards, so long as factors are emphasized which no longer loom so large as they did in the closing years of the nineteenth century . . . the significance of German history must remain obscure". "Thus, without leaving the old framework", we are told, "a new interpretation has gradually been placed on the process of German development" (I, 2-3).

This new school of historical interpretation is not peculiar to Germany but is also found in France and England. It may be called the Documentary School. Its contention is that nineteenth century scholarship exhausted the narrative sources of medieval history and that the better and truer sources are of a documentary nature. Mayer, Schmeidler, Mitteis, and Brackmann in Germany have superseded Giesebrecht and the *Jahrbücher*, just as in England Stubbs and Freeman have been supplanted by Maitland and Stenton and Tout and Jolliffe.

The reviewer admits to some hesitation in undertaking to review Mr. Barraclough's *Introduction*, for in the author's estimation "the only recent book on medieval Germany in the English language . . . is a reflection of the twilight of a day which has passed". He quotes with satisfaction Schmeidler's criticism of my *Feudal Germany*, published ten years ago: "es ist alles ein wenig Wissenschaft von gestern" (*Hist. Zeitsch.*, CXL, 592).

A merit of Mr. Barraclough's volume is constant comparison of internal conditions and developments in Germany with contemporaneous circumstances in France and England (see I, 10-13, 16-20, 47 and n., 109-111, 126-28; and Brackmann's essay on "The Beginnings of the National State in Mediaeval Germany, and the Norman Monarchies"). The reign of Henry IV is rightly made the turning point in the epoch but only with regard to the investiture contest. The significance and bearing of the rebellion of Saxony in 1073 is unnoticed, although some of the fundamental principles of the Guelf party in the next century were implicit in the Saxon contentions. To my thinking it was not for nothing that Lothar of Supplinburg's father was killed in the battle on the Unstrut in 1075, that his mother was the daughter

of Ordulf Billung, the last of the Billunger dukes of Saxony, that he himself married Richsa, a granddaughter of Otto of Nordheim, and that their daughter Gertrude became the wife of Henry the Proud and mother of Henry the Lion. It seems legal hairsplitting also to say that the Billunger were not dukes of Saxony because the title conferred on Hermann Billung by Otto I denoted a "military leadership in the Saxon marches, and carried with it no powers over the Saxon people" (I, 42). The "dukes" who strained the resources of Henry IV to the limit and the people who soundly thrashed the emperor at the battle of Welfesholz, when Henry V invaded Saxony in 1115 in the effort to annex the duchy to the crown because the male line of the Billunger house had expired, can hardly be dismissed without a word.

For one who pins his faith upon documents and belittles narrative sources it is curious to find no mention of the *Narratio de electione Lotharii* (M.G.H., SS., XII, 509-12), especially since Mr. Barraclough has said that his intention is to stress the growth of elective monarchy as one of the three primary developments of German constitutional history.

Mr. Barraclough in common with his guides ridicules the idea that the Guelfs, especially Henry the Lion, represented any constructive political course. He is so convinced that it were futile to labor the point. But I would like to point out that a century before the Guelfs arose, Henry II admitted the principle of intraducal rights. "Legem habent et ducem eligendi potestatem ex lege tenant". (Adalboldi, *Fragmentum de rebus gestis Henrici II imperatoris*, cap. 15, M.G.H., SS., IV, 679-95. See further, Hirsch, *Heinrich II*, 296-301, and Bresslau, *Konrad II*, I, 204.) Perhaps Mr. Barraclough's repugnance towards narrative sources accounts for his failure to notice this. It might be observed further that the Guelf policy of preserving the federative character of the government of Germany and ancient *consuetudines* and of promoting local Landtage, at least in Saxony, was a policy hardly compatible with Henry the Lion's alleged "grasping materialism" (I, 107). There must have been something vital in the Guelf political program. The Guelf idea of a federated German kingdom, long after it had perished in Germany, survived in Italy to haunt liberal minds.

The weakest part of Mr. Barraclough's book is precisely that it *fails* to deal with political theory. "It is out of the question", he writes (I, 50) "for us to consider here in detail either the legal character or the development of the German monarchy". One wonders why.

No useful purpose would be served by criticism of Mr. Barraclough's hypotheses in estimation of the character of Henry the Lion and Frederick I. As he has condemned my interpretation of the former, so he ridicules my conception of the latter as "fantastic" (I, 77, n.). But if he will turn to the *English Historical Review* (XXIV, 770) and read the late H. W. C. Davis's review of Simonsfeld, *Jahrbücher . . . unter Friedrich I* (Vol. I), he will find that a better scholar than I had an equally adverse opinion of the char-

acter and administration of Frederick I. Incidentally, Mr. Barracrough refers (I, 72, n. 106) to "the brief statement" in my *Feudal Germany* on the "ministeriales". Since the statement fills thirteen pages (pp. 324-37) and contains forty-seven notes, the stricture hardly seems just.

Mr. Barracrough praises the "sound and realistic" policy of Frederick Barbarossa and asserts that the Hohenstaufen were "leaders in territorial reorganization" (I, 107, 114). But to this reviewer there seems to be a large ingredient of special pleading to prove Frederick I's constructiveness in his course towards the duke of Austria and the Zähringer. It is not possible yet to do exhaustive research in the history of the whole long reign of Frederick I, and it will not be unless and until the *Jahrbücher* of his reign are completed. In 1908 Simonsfeld issued the first volume, but it covered only the years 1152-58. It is a matter of regret that this great gap of thirty-one years in the great series of *Jahrbücher* still remains to be filled, though there is much compensation to be found in the monographs and sources published by many scholars in this field. For a list of the more important of these see Dahlmann-Waitz, *Quellenkunde*, 9th ed. (1931), Nos. 6440-41.

Mr. Barracrough informs his readers that this work was first planned as long ago as 1935 and that the introductory essay was "written in the summer and autumn of 1937". Three years of study—the minimum requirement for the Ph.D. degree—to conclude a work the magnitude and complexity of which would require on the part of a talented German student with a background no foreign scholar could possess twice or thrice that length of time! This book leaves the reader with the impression that the author has not been able to integrate the subject. If he had taken more time to digest his reading and read deeply in the annals and chronicles, the result might have been different. Continuity of movement through a whole period is not expressed in documents. Documents are the bricks and stones with which a historical structure is built, but the cement which binds things together into a whole is found in narratives which extend over years of time. A sustained narrative will sometimes put a girdle around a host of facts. Internal evidence conveys the impression that the author has read few sources completely through. He seems to have formed his thought by studying secondary authorities, from which he has derived most of his references to sources. Almost every quotation from a source has reference to an authority appended to it.

An example of Mr. Barracrough's singular use of sources is found on pages 14-15 of Volume I. There one reads: "'Even without the judgement of the Holy See,' a contemporary wrote, even without papal intervention the attitude of the princes to Henry IV was consistent and justified and their claims were substantiated by constitutional law: they might ally with the papacy, but they stood fair and square on their own ground, striving to realize a policy which was their own." This is presented as a *translation* of Paul of Bernried's *Vita Greg. VII.*, cap. 97: "Praeterea liberi homines Hen-

ricum eo pacto sibi praeposuerunt in regem, ut electores suos iuste iudicare et regali providentia gubernari satageret. Quod pactum ille postea praevincari et contemnere non cessavit, videlicet quoslibet innoxios tyrannica crudelitate opprimendo et omnes, quos potuit, christianae religioni repugnare constringendo. Ergo et absque sedis apostolicae iudicio principes eum pro rege merito refutare possent, cum pactum adimplere contempserit, quod eis pro electione sua promiserat: quo non adimpleto, nec rex esse poterat. Nam rex nullatenus esse poterit, qui subditos suos non regere sed in errorem mittere studuerit". To this citation is appended a reference to F. Kern, *Gottesgnadentum u. Widerstandsrecht* (1914), 202-3, 265. The sophisticated ideas and very modern kind of political terminology employed in this "translation" of Paul of Bernried are reflections of Kern's interpretation of Paul of Bernried's thought. It is certainly not a literal translation.

University of California.

JAMES WESTFALL THOMPSON.

Héloïse et Abélard. By ÉTIENNE GILSON. (Paris: J. Vrin. 1938. Pp. 252. 30 fr.)

Héloïse: A Biography. By ENID MCLEOD. (London: Chatto & Windus. 1938. Pp. 318. 12s. 6d.)

WHEN a master of many disciplines examines anew a problem that has often attracted the attention of others, significant results may be anticipated. In this respect M. Gilson shows himself truly the master. In his skillful hands the letters of Abelard and Héloïse are re-examined and placed firmly on the high plane where many have insisted they assuredly belong. His methods are so sound, so clearly evident, and supported by such depth of learning and penetrating insight that at times his book reads as if the brilliant Abelard of the schools and Héloïse herself were presenting—not pleading—their own cause.

On setting out to demonstrate that the correspondence is what it purports to be, M. Gilson is very like Abelard the grammarian, only, unlike Abelard, he is careful not to confuse questions purely grammatical with those requiring treatment appropriate for other disciplines. In this respect his major task is to point out the errors in the brief published by Schmeidler in 1913 and in the contentions recently presented by Mlle. Charrier in her fine book on Héloïse in history and legend. Lack of space prevents comment on each chapter, but only a careful reading of Gilson's volume—with the *Letters* at hand—will satisfy the curious.

Though by title this little volume of lectures may seem narrow in concept and concerned exclusively with a highly specialized problem, the opposite is true. Here is a mine of information, not always new as to fact but new in the handling of fact, that will interest every student of the twelfth century and of the later Renaissance. Nowhere, to the reviewer's knowledge, is the antique intellectual heritage of Abelard and Héloïse so admirably described

and its importance so trenchantly evaluated. Admirable, also, is the author's sympathetic analysis of these two figures as individuals—truly as individual as men and women of any age could be. Added as appendixes are two lectures, "Le moyen âge et le naturalisme antique" and "Philosophie médiévale et humanisme", which, though composed on other occasions, form an integral part of the book as a whole. These should be welcome additions to the literature of medieval and Renaissance studies.

Miss McLeod was evidently at work on her biography of Héloïse while M. Gilson was writing his lectures, and it is of interest to note their mutual agreement on fundamental points. She, too, upholds the theory that the *Letters* are authentic. Well aware that she is dealing with materials often annoyingly incomplete, Miss McLeod has, nevertheless, striven to adhere strictly to what the sources indicate and has wisely avoided flights of imagination into the realm of the probable. Her book is written in clear, graceful prose and should attract many readers.

Princeton University.

GRAY C. BOYCE.

L'Archevêque Eudes Rigaud et la vie de l'église au XIII^e siècle, d'après le "Regestrum visitationum". Par PIERRE ANDRIEU-GUITRANCOURT, professeur à l'Université Catholique de Paris. Ouvrage honoré d'une préface de S. E. le Cardinal Baudrillart. (Paris: Recueil Sirey. 1938. Pp. xi, 462. 80 fr.)

THEODORE Bonnin's printing eighty-seven years ago of the *Regestrum visitationum* of Odo Rigaud, one of the most remarkable journals of all time and certainly the most significant single source for the study of the everyday affairs of a great medieval diocese, has led to a series of monographs and articles dealing with the material it contains. Economists, social historians, and Protestant and Catholic partisans alike have found in the Register ready examples to substantiate their conclusions regarding the soundness or the unsoundness of monastic life and monastic institutions in the thirteenth century. The time has arrived for a synthesis or a definitive study of the Register which shall co-ordinate the fair-sized body of scholarly writings that has grown without much direction or connection. The present volume avowedly attempts such a synthesis.

Professor Guitrancourt has himself contributed to the monographic literature in his treatment of rural deaneries and the rights of archiepiscopal visitation in the thirteenth century. He has had long acquaintance with the Register. His earlier work, however, and his position as professor of canon law seem to have given him somewhat the bias of a theologian rather than the catholicity of a scholar and make it but natural that the best sections of the present volume deal with subjects of canon law and theology. Chapter iv, analyzing Rigaud's councils and synods, is a distinct contribution concerning the procedure and accomplishments of these local bodies. The

decrees of five synods, not found outside the Register, are here thoroughly discussed in the light of the writer's wide knowledge of canon law and of papal decrees. Chapters v-viii present the various aspects of archiepiscopal visitations of secular and regular clergy. The point of view here is often strictly legal. Chapter xii, "La vie liturgique dans les églises et les monastères de Normandie", well repays reading.

Other portions of the book are less satisfactory. The long discussion of crimes and the administration of ecclesiastical justice in the diocese reveals, at times, the partisan. The synthesis apparently ignores the work of Coulton, Jenkins, Snape, Strayer—in fact, of all the scholars who have written in English on the subject. It is not easy to understand a method of synthesis which omits even from the bibliography any mention of the work of such scholars as Léchaudé d'Anisy, Glorieux, Tillemont, and of the *Recueil général*, while including works as general as DuCange and Chevalier.

Several aspects of the life and functions of Rigaud and his diocese, portrayed in the Register, find no adequate presentation in the synthesis. The subject of the archiepiscopal domains, the care of which took much of Rigaud's time, is hardly touched upon, and the whole subject of patronage is barely mentioned. Rigaud's polyptychum, a remarkable medieval business record, is ignored completely. The fascinating subject of Rigaud's constant travels and entourage does not receive adequate attention. The chapter concerned with Rigaud and the countryside is more imaginative than scholarly.

The book has merit, but the Register itself is still the best place to meet Eudes Rigaud and the thirteenth century religious scene. Professor Guitrancourt has added another valuable contribution to the Rigaud literature, but it can hardly be called a scholarly synthesis, gathering all the threads and weaving a many-colored tapestry as such a work should do.

Hofstra College.

OSCAR G. DARLINGTON.

MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

Machiavelli's "Prince" and its Forerunners: "The Prince" as a Typical Book "de Regimine Principum". By ALLAN H. GILBERT. (Durham: Duke University Press. 1938. Pp. xiii, 266. \$3.00.)

THE avowed purpose of the author is "to make Machiavelli somewhat more useful to the present age by showing what he meant in his own day" (p. v). This he proceeds to do by analyzing *The Prince*, chapter by chapter (pp. 17-230). In connection with each such analysis Dr. Gilbert quotes extensively from parallel or contrasting passages in other writings of Machiavelli to show the development of his thought. Even more important for the student of political theory are the quotations from medieval or Renaissance scholars who had composed orthodox essays belonging to the type, *de*

regimine principum. In fact, without them the author could not prove his point, which the reviewer feels is amply substantiated throughout, that *The Prince*, far from being an isolated phenomenon, is an integral part of a long chain of writings clearly defined by type.

One of the prime theses of Dr. Gilbert is his insistence upon the orthodoxy of *The Prince* in structure, in topical material, and, to a large extent, in treatment. That Machiavelli himself was conscious of the tradition is made clear (pp. 6-9, 186). The brief but meaty introduction, "On the History of Books of Advice to Princes", sketches the tradition, with particular reference to Italy and the background it formed for Machiavelli.

The originality of *The Prince* lies in its emphasis upon the *verità effettuale*, the actual state of affairs, in sixteenth century Italian political life. The author emphasizes his point throughout the book (e.g., pp. 37, 130, 158, 160, 162, 219, 221-22, 230) as well as in his compact but excellent concluding chapter on "The Originality of *The Prince*". Much that Machiavelli said had already been said; it remained for the Florentine to give a new interpretation, a new setting.

The countless parallels and potential sources quoted in the text are given in the original language (except Greek), with translations in the footnotes. Inasmuch as the author recognized the inability of the average present-day scholar to read Renaissance French, Italian, and Latin with ease, and so added his careful translations, the reviewer feels that the continuous reading of the text would have been facilitated by reversing the plan used.

The author's proofreading of the hundreds of quotations merits praise, though some errors in typography, spacing, and alignment have been noted. The composition of the book, the ten-page bibliography, which is provided with annotations on dates of composition and first printing of original sources, and the eighteen-page index bespeak the scholarship of the author and his wide acquaintanceship with the literature pertinent to his subject. The five illustrations, selected with discrimination, are an integral part of the book. Dr. Gilbert's work will be useful to students in several fields. It is a welcome addition to the small number of competent books on the type, *de regimine principum*.

Washington, D. C.

LESTER K. BORN.

Pre-Reformation England. By H. MAYNARD SMITH, Canon of Gloucester. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1938. Pp. xv, 556. \$8.00.)

THIS work presents a synthetic view of the conditions immediately preceding the Reformation in England. The period under consideration extends from 1509 to 1521, but many excursions are made into earlier times to provide essential backgrounds. The first part surveys aspects of the life of the English people. The state of the church and of religious belief naturally receive first consideration, but chapters on economic, social, and political

changes are included. The sweep is so broad that the treatment of topics is somewhat uneven. The author, for example, has not mastered the printed evidence concerning "papal exactions", but he is familiar with recent research on the case of Richard Hunne and applies to the topic critical judgments of his own. Since he has confined his research primarily to printed materials, some of his conclusions may be revised by further study of manuscripts. His statements with regard to pluralities provide an illustration. He calls attention to the large number of benefices held by Adam de Stratton in the time of Edward I, suggests that "two hundred years later things were not much better", provides several examples of individuals who accumulated many benefices, and concludes: "such scandals—though there were too many of them—had only a temporary and occasional importance" (pp. 33-36). While this deduction may be true, it can be accepted only with reservation until the evidence contained in papal and episcopal registers has been evaluated. This cautionary comment applies primarily to the chapter on the state of the church. The chapters on popular religion and on superstitions and abuses rest on types of evidence which are more largely in print and in which the author seems to be more at home. They tell an important story with many new points of view. They deal more largely with questions of opinion than with facts, and the author's analysis of opinions, both contemporary and modern, is particularly valuable. He takes a moderate view and tempers many excessive judgments which have been formulated by both Catholics and Protestants.

In the second part, which is entitled "The Tendencies of the Time Accounted For", the development of Lollardy, scholasticism, English mystics, popular literature, humanism, and the Catholic reformers is traced. The purpose is not to present a history of these movements but to select such aspects of them as help to explain why and how men were thinking of the church and religion in the pre-Reformation period. All the evidence on Lollardy has not yet come to light, and possibly Canon Smith might have revised some of his statements on this subject if he had searched the contemporary episcopal registers to be found within a few miles on either side of his own cathedral. The remainder of this section, which is the principal portion, contributes much to our better understanding of the causes of the Reformation. Among other things, it gives clearer insight into the effects of the careers and writings of the English humanists.

This study of the subject is not definitive. On many phases we still have much to learn from unpublished materials. It is an interesting and useful synthesis of the situation in the light of printed sources, and it also advances significantly our knowledge of the causes of the Reformation, particularly those which relate to thought and opinion. The value of the contribution is further enhanced by the impartiality of the treatment accorded a subject which has suffered much from prejudice.

Haverford College.

W. E. LUNT.

Calendar of the Patent Rolls preserved in the Public Record Office: Philip and Mary. Three volumes. (London: H. M. Stationery Office; New York: British Library of Information. 1937; 1936; 1938. Pp. vii, 681; vi, 481; vii, 733. \$9.00; \$7.75; \$10.30.)

WITH these three volumes the official edition of the *Calendar of the Patent Rolls* is complete from the beginning of the reign of Henry III until the last year of Mary's reign, with the exception of the rolls of the reign of Henry VIII, which are incorporated in *Letters and Papers* for that reign. Down to the death of Edward VI every one of these volumes—and they aggregate well over fifty—came out under the auspices of Sir H. C. Maxwell Lyte during the forty years (1886-1926) when he was deputy keeper of the Public Records. Together they constitute a magnificent achievement, and students of English history owe him a deep debt of gratitude for them as well as for his important work on the great seal, which appeared some thirteen years ago.

In the three volumes under review his successor in office, Mr. A. E. Stamp, carries on. The pattern defined in the preface to the first volume of the patent rolls for Edward III (ed. 1891) remains virtually unchanged, though Mr. Stamp has discontinued the previous practice of citing the reference to the original warrants for the seal. The documents in abstract form are printed in the order in which they are enrolled and not in chronological order. Only those issues under the great seal which are enrolled are printed. No attempt has been made to discover how complete or how accurate the enrollment has been. We could have wished for more, though a critical study of the individual entries would have been an endless task. We could certainly have wished for some running commentary upon the developing history of the great seal and of the changing practices of chancery with reference to issues under the great seal. Sir H. C. Maxwell Lyte's monograph is a brilliant contribution to the subject, but it is hardly more than a bird's-eye view of a vast territory which still needs to be charted with meticulous care.

Space does not serve to analyze the contents of these three volumes. They contain an enormous amount of information about persons, places, offices, and officers of the crown, licenses and privileges, sales of crown lands, incorporation of boroughs, etc. Once in a while, particularly in grants of pardon, we get a little light upon the details of plots and conspiracies against the crown. The pardon roll for the first year of Mary's reign alone lists nearly two thousand grants and includes men as high as the first peer in England and as low as shoemakers and yeomen and even laborers. It is one more testimony to Mary's merciful disposition that among the enrollments many grants of land appear to the wives and families of condemned traitors—even to Sir Thomas Wyatt's widow, even to the Duchess of Northumberland.

The volumes are separately and very well indexed, both by names of persons and of places and, in a rough way, by subjects. Taken altogether,

they constitute one of the most important collections of sources on the reign of Mary in print.

University of Pennsylvania.

CONYERS READ.

The Age of Drake. By JAMES A. WILLIAMSON. [The Pioneer Histories, edited by V. T. Harlow and J. A. Williamson.] (New York: Macmillan Company. 1938. Pp. xi, 400. \$5.00.)

IN 1898 Sir Julian Corbett published his two volumes on Drake and the Tudor navy. Since then many investigators have been hard at work and have turned up new manuscript materials, worked out the main trends of general maritime history of the Tudor era, reconstructed the careers of worthies like Hawkins, the two Hakluyts, Grenville, and Frobisher, and traced the development not only of commercial theory but also of colonization propaganda. In the elucidation of these problems Dr. Williamson himself has taken a leading part. His monographs on the Cabot voyages and Sir John Hawkins (to mention no more) are contributions of first-rate importance. In *The Age of Drake* he has set himself the task of putting together into one book the conclusions of the newer scholarship in the field of Tudor maritime history.

The result is a striking success. Equipped with a profound knowledge of the sources, manuscript as well as printed, and possessed of a lively, vigorous style, Williamson has produced a volume which will be prized equally by the general reader and the special student. It abounds in fresh interpretations of well-known facts and is replete with data hitherto hidden away in the learned journals. The author has levied a rich tribute far and near and from these materials has constructed a splendid narrative, clearly and at all times interestingly told. Using the results of later scholarship, Williamson not only tells us what the great sea captains undertook, but he explains why they undertook their daring enterprises. He refuses to treat maritime developments *in vacuo*; consistently he integrates sea causes and sea exploits with the general political and diplomatic history of the time. The cosmographers studied to find oceanic solutions for England's domestic maladjustments. They supplied the plans, and the sea kings tried to realize them. This fusion of maritime and domestic considerations gives rich substance to the book and marks a great advance over former narratives of the period. It is Williamson's opinion that the Elizabethan era proper takes shape about 1570. It is then that there begins the series of exploits which have so captured the imagination of later times: the daring voyages into the Caribbean, Grenville's proposed expedition into the South Pacific to plant a colony on Terra Australis, Raleigh's entry into Guiana, and the circumnavigation of Drake. To each of these episodes the author brings an abundance of novel data and an independent, critical point of view. Those who wish to know to what degree the older views of well-known episodes have

been modified may turn at once to the author's chapter on the Armada and his two chapters on Drake's voyage round the world.

There is no bibliography, but footnotes provide adequate references to the materials on which the study is based. A series of excellent sketch maps enriches and supplements the text of a book which has done for this generation what *Drake and the Tudor Navy* did for Corbett's.

University of Redlands.

FULMER MOOD.

Tudor Puritanism: A Chapter in the History of Idealism. By M. M. KNAPPEN, University of Chicago. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1939. Pp. xii, 555. \$4.00.)

IN a sense the subtitle is a misnomer, for this volume is a carefully documented and critical study of Tudor Puritanism itself, written from an objective point of view, rather than a discussion of idealism during the Reformation or since. Professor Knappen has stated frankly in his preface and from time to time in his text his own conviction that Puritanism played a vital part in the growth of idealism, but there has been no twisting of the narrative to fit a modern point of view which the Tudor Puritans did not understand or approve. This latter fact Professor Knappen keenly realizes (p. 350). The book is in no sense a piece of special pleading, and in it idealism itself and its history receive very little attention. Two thirds of the volume are devoted to a narrative of Tudor Puritanism and the last third to a topical analysis of its intellectual, social, and cultural aspects. Essays on terminology and on the historiography of Puritanism are appended. The footnotes are extended and learned and the bibliography excellent. Professor Knappen's researches have been wide and deep and include German, French, and Dutch authorities not always read.

The most original contribution lies in the working definition of Puritanism in point of time and in point of opinion. Professor Knappen begins his narrative in 1524 with Tyndale and devotes nearly a third of the book to the period prior to 1558. It has not been generally accepted that Puritanism in any sense of the term had so early an origin, though many Protestant sects claim a continuous history since the Apostles. He has also accepted as Puritans an unusually large number of the bishops of the Established Church and has included all other Protestants except the Anabaptists. This study of the whole narrative of the Reformation from the point of view of Puritanism, this inclusion of as many personalities as possible, is the most original and important contribution of the volume. There was decidedly room for a consideration of Puritanism on the broadest possible basis.

Early Puritanism Professor Knappen finds was internationalism in opposition to nationalism, and it is this aspect which, he feels, justifies him in classing Tyndale, Cranmer, Hooper, Cox, and many of the Henricians and Edwardians as Puritans. He has also emphasized the relation of Puritanism

to medievalism more emphatically than any previous student. While, as he realizes, this point of view is not new, he has made much of it and finds the asceticism of Tudor Puritans directly related to earlier Roman Catholic asceticism, and Puritan economic doctrines largely medieval scholasticism (pp. 401-24). It is "the general thesis of this work that early Puritanism represents rather an intensification and refinement of medieval attitudes than an attack upon them" (p. 451). In order to provide space for the discussion of portions of the narrative not formerly treated as Puritan history and for the lives of men hitherto not considered Puritans at all or not rated as important in the movement, Professor Knappen was forced to reduce the amount of space assigned to the narrative between 1570 and 1604 and to the lives and opinions of Cartwright, Travers, and the better-known men. Indeed, part of the idea of the book was to give a more adequate idea of Richard Greenham, Dudley Fenner, William Perkins, Edward Deering, of such early reformers as Robert Barnes and William Turner, and of the claims of many Anglicans to be considered Puritans.

These contentions, if literally interpreted, totally change the history of the English Reformation and of the Puritan movement as hitherto understood. If Puritanism was a living force before the Reformation and during its earliest phases, we have misunderstood the Reformation itself. If so many notables of the Established Church were part of the Puritan movement, we have not yet grasped the history of the Establishment or of Puritanism. Of these implications Professor Knappen is fully aware and is entirely clear that they depend for their validity on definitions and terminology about which dogmatism is impossible. The reviewer does not understand him to propose so broad a thesis. He has tried to emphasize certain aspects of Tudor Puritanism hitherto not sufficiently stressed, to suggest that certain larger and broader interpretations and implications of the movement are possible and interesting rather than demonstrably true. They seem to him to throw useful light upon the history of the Reformation and of Puritanism rather than to establish a total change of our conception of either or both. There seem to be no critical problems which Professor Knappen does not appreciate, and he is entirely aware that they are impossible of definitive solution. "In strict accuracy there were many Puritan spirits but no Puritan spirit" (p. 339); there was no "Puritan party" at any date but many Puritan parties constantly shifting their ground. Critically examined, no "Tudor Puritanism" ever existed as a unified concept. So carefully has he separated fact and opinion, so admirable are his discussions of terminology, that the volume seems to the reviewer critically defensible. It was a study worth making, and, if its true results are tentative and suggestive only, Professor Knappen himself has not really claimed more.

The reviewer nevertheless prefers the older judgments about the movement. Professor Knappen, for all his caution and reservations, overempha-

sizes the roles of the lesser-known men. Few will probably agree with him that Dudley Fenner was a "genius" (p. 372), William Turner "something of a genius" (p. 59), Perkins "*the* Puritan theologian of Tudor times" (p. 375). It is not probable that many will feel that a general brief narrative of Puritanism should begin in 1524 or include so many incidents and personalities hitherto omitted or subordinated. To claim that internationalism was Puritanism is probably to say too much. The medieval aspects of Puritan thought can easily be exaggerated.

Washington University.

ROLAND G. USHER.

The Rise of Puritanism, or the Way to the New Jerusalem as set forth in Pulpit and Press from Thomas Cartwright to John Lilburne and John Milton, 1570-1643. By WILLIAM HALLER, Barnard College, Columbia University. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1938. Pp. viii, 464. \$4.50.)

PROFESSOR Haller's book is very valuable in three ways. It supplies a much needed investigation of Milton's Puritan background and heritage. It comes to grips with (if it does not completely solve) one of the ultimate problems of Puritanism—how it shaped public opinion for the revolution. It is a pledge of the fruitful alliance of historical and literary studies, whose benefits are mutual: to place Milton in his setting is not only to illuminate Milton, it is to throw light on features of the age which historians neglect at their peril.

From Cartwright's defeat till the Long Parliament the Puritan divines gave themselves to the work of evangelization, the preaching of a body of doctrine and a way of life. Concerned less with society than with the individual, they were "physicians of the soul". Nor were they isolated practitioners, but a "spiritual brotherhood", trained at and directed from Cambridge. Of their sermons and other works of edification (listed in a useful bibliography) Professor Haller has an unrivaled knowledge; and from these he convincingly sets forth the Puritan epic of the spiritual life, of Christian "wayfaring and warfaring", with illustrations from Puritan biography (to which a second bibliography is devoted). The Puritan divines were studious to address the common man and boasted of their simple and spiritual preaching as opposed to the human wit and learning of the Anglican pulpit. Not that simplicity and spirituality connoted the merely prosaic. There was a "rhetoric of the spirit", but it was based on the Bible and drew its "light-some similitudes" from the things of every day.

By its preaching Puritanism gained its hold on the middle and lower orders of society and fostered a more democratic spirit than its basic doctrines would seem to warrant or its official attitude countenance. All along the line it not only achieved its goal but overshot its mark. By preaching the sufficiency of grace it bred unawares a contempt for learning. By its appeal

to the experience and conscience of the individual it encouraged in extravagant degree the individualism latent in all forms of Protestantism. By picturing the glories of the New Jerusalem and the assured triumph of the Saints it prepared for the utopianism (and specifically for the millenarianism) of the 1640's and 50's. By presenting the Saints as God's elect and at the same time urging all men to make sure that they were of the number it undermined its own principle of an aristocracy of grace grounded on divine election and pointed to a democratic form of salvation in which all might participate if they would. By demonstrating the power of the pulpit the ministers finally attracted to that eminence the unordained, and by calling in the press to supplement uttered sermons with printed they unwittingly nourished their chief rival and one impossible to control. Ministerial control was of the essence of the postponed (but not abandoned) Presbyterian scheme of reform. It failed, and the ministers found that they were to reap the whirlwind.

But before that day the cause was to suffer under the repressive hand of Laud. And here Milton comes upon the scene. Destined for a place in the "spiritual brotherhood", he found himself "church-outed by the prelates" and turned to the poetry instead of the rhetoric of the spirit. This does not (nor would Professor Haller seek to make it) explain the whole of Milton the poet, but it brings into relief the fact that from the beginning Milton's poetry presented *inter alia* the Puritan epic of the spiritual life, of Christian wayfaring and warfaring. Meanwhile Milton exemplifies the transference of the spirit generated by the Puritan pulpit to the struggle for reformation, root and branch, and ultimately for a liberty that was to wreck the Presbyterian dream. In addition Professor Haller deals with the careers to 1643 of the agitators Prynne and Bastwick and of such sectaries as William Kiffin, Hanserd Knollys, and above all John Lilburne (to whose writings he devotes the third of the bibliographies); he re-examines the earlier pamphlets included in his *Tracts on Liberty in the Puritan Revolution* (1934), by Lord Brooke and William Walwyn (for whom his regard seems to us excessive), by John Goodwin (who turns the power of the pulpit to the direct incitement of armed rebellion), and by Henry Parker (in whose appeal to the law of nature Professor Haller now detects a closer relation to the Puritan appeal to conscience). Thus the stage is set for the later developments of Puritan thought.

Professor Haller's treatment is not equally inclusive and conclusive at all points. The limitation is self-imposed. It springs from his refusal to pursue the Puritan mind into what he regards as the mere technicalities of doctrine. But he has a clear sense of the continuity of Puritanism and boldly asserts that the elements common to the Puritan right, center, and left are more important than their (still highly important) differences. In this he runs counter to a good many historians and is in our opinion profoundly

correct. As a result the reader, if he chooses and is duly equipped, can simply add what Professor Haller omits. He can remind himself of the shaping influence of a figure like William Ames, not as preacher but as theologian; he can pursue such doctrinal issues as that of Christian liberty; he can examine the all-important theories of church government and of the relation of the church and the world. But in the case of the problem, more acute after 1643, of the transition from the Calvinistic ideal of theocracy, or at least of an aristocracy of grace, to the democracy of the Puritan left, Professor Haller is led, by his minimizing of the influence of doctrine, to propose too facile a solution. There was, he holds, a retreat from, even a reaction against, the extreme Calvinistic position with its sharp discrimination of the elect and the reprobate. This is true; indeed there was some retreat from the very idea of dogma. But at best it furnishes only a partial explanation of the transition to libertarian and democratic ideas in the secular field. And Professor Haller overlooks the fact that if in some quarters there was a cutting of the Calvinistic knot, in others there was a tightening of it. Roger Williams suggests the incompleteness of Professor Haller's explanation. No one more liberal and democratic in secular politics than he, and no one more rigorously Calvinistic! Even if in many more instances than we can safely assume the Calvinistic basis was modified, so long as the church or sect was envisaged as composed of the converted alone the barrier to general democracy stood unshaken—at least while the majority of men were still unconverted. Milton became an Arminian, but with no increase whatsoever of democratic principle. The solution lies elsewhere. Not until, as in Williams and the Levellers, the division is clearly recognized between the order of grace and the order of nature, not until direct inference from the first to the second has been replaced by the subtler influence of analogy alone, can the Puritan church or sect minister unequivocally to the growth of the democratic spirit in politics.

University College, Toronto.

A. S. P. WOODHOUSE.

Colbert and a Century of French Mercantilism. By CHARLES WOOLSEY COLE, George D. Olds Professor of Economics, Amherst College. Two volumes. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1939. Pp. xii, 532; 675. \$10.00.)

THIS is a vast repertory of knowledge. The first 277 pages are concerned with developments before Colbert and give a detailed description of each particular pamphlet or project, frequently, even in cases when nothing came out of it, running into many pages. After an interesting and well-made chapter on Colbert the different fields of his activity are given in long chapters under the following headings: Commerce; The East India Company; Colonies; Manufactures; More Manufactures; Regulation of Industry; Internal Development. The text winds up with a brief chapter entitled "Afterthoughts and Conclusions" and is followed by some appendixes. Charters,

privileges, regulations, etc. are summarized in the text, article by article, often in small type, running sometimes to ten pages, always in English; even if, for example, two trading company charters contain almost identical stipulations, each is treated separately, and the monotonous privileges are likewise repeated for each particular industrialist. Nobody could complain of a meagerness of detailed information in this book.

The author is right in stressing the fact that previous contributions, accessible in English and devoted specifically to Colbert, have been insignificant; when compared with them his book marks a great advance. On the other hand, the literature in French has been overflowing and far from confined to monographs and articles; some recent works cover the whole field, and many cover particular sections of it. Of course there are cases when Professor Cole is able to offer some new illustrations; but anything changing our view of any aspect of the subject I have been unable to find in his book. This is not at all the fault of the author, who on the contrary merits praise for not sacrificing truth to attempts at originality. It seems, however, to show that what is now needed is not a hunt for details as such, unconnected with clearly conceived problems; that phase should now be finished. Not a few of the manuscript sources quoted in this book have already been published; for example, a regulation of the labor conditions at one of the *manufactures royales*, here rendered in English in more than two pages of small print after a manuscript source (II, 453-55), is printed in full in such an easily accessible work as Levasseur's *Histoire des classes ouvrières et de l'industrie en France avant 1789* (II, 423-26), though this seems to have escaped the author. Professor Cole modestly disclaims a belief that his book should be "complete and definitive"; but it is with some misgiving that one would look forward to a book, say, of at least double the size of this one, purporting to repair this defect; it would probably conceal the woods completely behind the trees. For, it must be said, there are in this well-documented and learned book few attempts at solutions of central problems. This is due to a number of limitations, no doubt intentional.

First, even the relation between the effort of Colbert and what went before is obscured through the amount of detail overlaying the treatment of the pre-Colbert period. Secondly, and much more important, very little is seen against a general European background. If mercantilism is anything, it is something belonging to the general history of Europe; unless this is borne in mind, an evaluation of Colbert's ideas and activities becomes difficult, if not impossible. What is described in minute detail in this book may be something specific to France or, again, something common to many countries, while this distinction is not made clear except in a very few cases. Further, the standard for judgments is lacking when, for instance, the shallow and declamatory early French writers on economics are not compared with their foreign, mostly English and Dutch, contemporaries. Terminology also takes very little account of both contemporary and later literature on mercantilism,

as when "bullionism" is, without an explanation, made to stand for a love of precious metals generally, not for attempts at preventing their export. These are only instances of what pervades the whole book.

Next, the very high opinion Professor Cole holds of the achievements of Colbert and the relative position of France needs to be backed in many ways. Among the most valuable documents found by the author are statistics of French manufactures, 1692-93; but these, given in an appendix, are not at all utilized in the text. It is also unfortunate that the investigations of Professor Nef concerning industrial developments in England and France are not confronted with the conclusions reached in this book, as they go in an opposite direction, at least to some extent.

Lastly, and perhaps most important, hardly any light is thrown upon the economic character of the developments described. This would have required something more than an abundance of external facts. Facts must be sifted, and the right sort of facts must be hunted out, in order to show how far the innovations of Colbert's time contributed to long-time developments of industry and commerce or, on the contrary, retarded them. The author speaks of "industrialism" and "industrial productivity" instead of investigating their specific meaning. There are, to give but one instance, only very scanty references to the spread of industry over the countryside and the relation of the regulation of industry to it.

There is an important exception to a great deal of this in the ten pages devoted to "afterthoughts and conclusions". Here we have an independent and suggestive little chapter, showing that the author has thought over at least some of the problems here indicated. But Professor Cole, with great candidness, warns his readers that some of his conclusions "have only a tenuous foundation". It is submitted that the preceding 1100 pages should have been utilized to strengthen the foundations, nay, that the whole book should have had for its object to lead up to conclusions.

The reader will understand that these criticisms come from a reviewer who differs from the author as to what a book of this sort ought to aim at, and that they do not imply any lack of the regard that should always be had for an energetic and successful pursuit of knowledge.

Institute of Economic History, Stockholm University.

ELI F. HECKSCHER.

Guide to English Commercial Statistics, 1696-1782. By G. N. CLARK, University of Oxford. With a Catalogue of Materials by Barbara M. Franks. (London: Royal Historical Society. 1938. Pp. xvi, 211.)

The English Coasting Trade, 1600-1750. By T. S. WILLAN, University of Manchester. (Manchester: Manchester University Press. 1938. Pp. xiv, 233. 10s. 6d.)

THE first of these two books is one of the most important recent contributions to the field of eighteenth century British economic history. The mass

of trade statistics for the period, their scattered location, and ignorance of the circumstances of their compilation and therefore of their value and the uses to which they might be put have hitherto presented practical difficulties in the way of their correct study. This volume should encourage serious investigations in this subject, simplify research procedure, and make possible more accurate knowledge of eighteenth century trade and commercial policy.

The first part of the *Guide* is devoted largely to an examination of the office of inspector general of imports and exports and the value and use of its accounts. Shorter descriptions of three other sources of trade statistics complete this section. The second part consists of the appendix of documents which in general illustrate the nature of the inspector general's office and the difficulties involved in its business. The catalogue of statistical materials constitutes the last division. Those parts of the book which will doubtless prove of the greatest value to scholars are the catalogue and the discussion of the records emanating from the inspector general's office. The catalogue provides a chronological guide to the inspector general's ledgers of imports and exports, to sources of trade abstracts arranged under countries without specifying goods, and to manuscript and printed sources of returns relating to particular countries or commodities.

There are a few minor blemishes in an otherwise admirable text. The statement, for example, of post-Union Scottish customs administration (p. 41) is misleading; a constitution was not "of the customs commissioners" (p. 47) but was a treasury instrument; the motive in the establishment of the inspectorship of exchequer books *was* primarily fiscal (pp. 53-54), as indicated by the original constitution of June 24, 1712, T.11/xv, 423-425. A few errors do not, however, impair a learned and able treatment of a difficult subject.

As the first detailed account of the English coasting trade for the period 1600-1750 Mr. Willan's book is welcome. It contains much valuable material bearing largely on the general organization of this trade, the traffic in the three most important divisions of commodities, and the coastwise commerce of the east, south, and west ports, respectively—with particular attention to the kinds and quantities of goods in which their shipping was concentrated and the tendencies of their trade during the period. Unfortunately the volume bears some marks of hurried composition. Proper synthesis and interpretation are lacking. At the same time, generalizations based on too few or minute instances appear. The book is carefully documented, however, and will prove of assistance to scholars.

Princeton, New Jersey.

ELIZABETH HOON CAWLEY.

Cromwell's Understudy: The Life and Times of General John Lambert and the Rise and Fall of the Protectorate. By WILLIAM HARBUTT DAWSON. (London: William Hodge and Company. 1938. Pp. 464. 15s.)

Cromwell's Captains. By C. E. LUCAS PHILLIPS. (London: William Heinemann. 1938. Pp. ix, 426. 16s.)

By a curious coincidence, not unusual in historical work, after long and undeserved neglect General John Lambert has suddenly achieved the distinction of having two studies of his career and character appear simultaneously, and, to make the coincidence still more striking, the conclusions of the two writers are curiously alike in most of the problems with which they have to deal. It is true that Mr. Phillips has, in addition to his study of Lambert, essays on Hampden, Blake, and Skippon, but a full third of his volume is devoted to what Mr. Dawson calls "*Cromwell's Understudy*", and this forms, with the account of the little-known activities of Skippon, the bulk of his contribution to the history of the Puritan Revolution and its heroes. In the somewhat bitter words of his introduction he states: "In a nation that has forgotten how to pray and does not want to fight, in a system of administration in which the clerks of admiralty, of army, of education, of trade, of colonial government, seek to hamper rather than to help the men who have an active duty to perform, we have something to learn from these men who, for all their high-pitched stridulations and for all their straining after precise focussings of the unsearchable, were nevertheless united by a singleness of purpose and inspired with a lively zeal for the ungrudging service of God's People."

It is, perhaps, significant that at this precise point in the history of Great Britain there should appear not only four studies of Oliver Cromwell but others on his supporters and colleagues. Hugh Peter and William Prynne have been the subjects of monographs within recent years, and Henry Ireton, who of them all best deserves a full-length biography, will presently, it is understood, have that distinction. So, little by little, we shall arrive at a broader and deeper conception of the first great modern revolutionary leaders and their time.

The two volumes under discussion have one thing in common besides their choice of subject and their virtual agreement on most points. They are interesting reading. Without descending to the levels of some recent "popular" biography, they present a clear and generally vivid picture of their subjects and their period. They are not free from minor errors, none of which, so far as one reader is concerned, greatly affect the truth of the general picture. Of Hampden there was—and is—little new to be said; and Mr. Phillips's observation that Blake is little known to the "general reader", while no doubt correct, does something less than credit to the numerous studies of Blake which have appeared in recent years and which are included in Mr. Phillips's bibliography. On the other hand this is the longest study which has yet appeared of Skippon and at long last gives that stout soldier his due.

But it is Lambert who is the real hero of both volumes, and in each

study, apart from the unusually good accounts of Inverkeithing, the main contribution is in that obscure period which followed the death of the protector. For the first time it is possible to trace with some degree of satisfaction the tortuous and complicated series of events which filled the brief and uneasy period of Richard Cromwell's rule—or rather his occupancy of the office of protector. The full story of that transition from protectoral to royal power remains to be written in its entirety, but there has so far appeared no study of it comparable to these.

The two books are of different character, yet each in its way supplements the other. Mr. Phillips's essays are good reading and good history; but Mr. Dawson's solid contribution leaves little or nothing left to be said on Lambert. Well documented, enriched by the publication for the first time of Lambert's correspondence insofar as it remains, with ample background and historical perspective, it is in nearly every respect what such a biography should be.

Cambridge, Massachusetts.

W. C. ABBOTT.

The Diary of John Milward, Esq., Member of Parliament for Derbyshire, September, 1666, to May, 1668. Edited with some Notes and an Introduction on his Life by CAROLINE ROBBINS. (Cambridge: University Press; New York: Macmillan Company. 1938. Pp. ci, 349. \$5.50.)

It is regrettable that there are available so few adequate accounts of the daily business of the house of commons of the Cavalier Parliament. We have Andrew Marvell's letters to his constituents (1660-78), the more valuable collection by Anchitell Grey (1667-94), and a few other sources of slighter value. But there is much we should like to know about the house in this period that none of these tells us. The parliamentary diary here reviewed has therefore great historical value in that it gives an unusually complete account of the business of the house for a period of interest to students of many aspects of English history.

John Milward, M. P. for Derbyshire from 1666 to 1670, represents the point of view of the country gentry who had fought for the king in the civil war. Because, presumably, he was a new member, Milward tells us a great deal about the minutiae of procedure in the house. His *Diary* is a mine of information as to what was done as well as what was said. He reports speeches nowhere else recorded and does so in enough detail to show us something of the factional lines then appearing in the Cavalier Parliament. He speaks of "the old Parliament gang" and the "Royal Party" (p. 16; see also pp. 20 and 29). There is new material to be gleaned on the impeachment of Clarendon and a great deal on the investigation into the conduct of the war. Milward, incidentally, cites in detail testimony given by Samuel Pepys concerning the payment of seamen during the war (pp. 207-209).

The *Diary* gives us what seems to be an accurate description not only of

what was done in the house but also of how it was done. For this reason it will be of interest to students of the procedure of the commons. What we learn from Milward confirms our knowledge of procedure derived from the Journals and from the various tractates. It is rather disappointing, however, to find him commenting so little on the subject of procedure. We should have liked to know a new member's opinion of the way in which the house conducted its business. Yet we get much interesting incidental information.

Milward complains, as have other parliamentarians, of "many speeches made to no great purpose" (see p. 23). The "carelessness of the tellers" by which Milward's side lost a vote in a division is described (p. 26). There is a report of a discussion about the procedure to be used against a member, Mr. Whorwood, who was tactless enough to remark: "When we have raised the King's supply we may go home like fools, as we came" (p. 41). The *Diary* indicates that business sometimes pressed on the house in the seventeenth century as it does in the twentieth (pp. 50, 54). The complaint, so common in reports of parliamentary business, that important motions are frequently decided "in a very thin House", is found here also (p. 238). Altogether, this *Diary* helps us to see the seventeenth century house as it was and to understand better, as Dr. Robbins expresses it, "Parliament and its interest to a seventeenth century country gentleman" (p. viii).

In addition to the *Diary* there are two appendixes, one containing eleven speeches, never before printed, by Sir John Holland delivered in the years 1666-68, and the other containing notes, attributed to Arthur Capel, on the debates in October and November, 1667. The editor's introduction gives an account of the diarist and his career and a valuable, though general, discussion of the contents and character of the *Diary*. In addition there is a very detailed calendar of parliamentary business during the period reported by Milward and an alphabetical check list of all persons mentioned in the *Diary*. The editor has evidently taken great care to make this valuable historical document as serviceable as possible to other students in the field.

Atlanta.

CATHERINE STRATEMAN SIMS.

The Jacobite Court at Rome in 1719, from Original Documents at Fettercairn House and at Windsor Castle. Edited by HENRIETTA TAYLER. [Publications of the Scottish History Society.] (Edinburgh: Printed at the University Press by T. and A. Constable for the Society. 1938. Pp. vii, 261.)

UNDER this title Miss Tayler has edited a number of documents dealing with the events which led to the withdrawal of Lord Forbes of Pitsligo from the Jacobite Court in 1719. The documents fall into two parts. The first part consists of Pitsligo's own "Narrative" of these events taken from the Clinton Manuscripts at Fettercairn House, a narrative which leaves the impression of a loyal and upright if slightly long-winded and pernickety gentleman. The

second part consists of extracts from the Stuart Papers at Windsor and contains, firstly, an apologia by James Murray, a confidant of the pretender, and, secondly, a more detailed account by the Earl of Mar, the pretender's secretary of state, of such of these events as concerned himself. This second contribution is, perhaps, the more valuable since, while the Historical Manuscripts Commission has published seven volumes of the calendars of the Windsor Papers, the last of these, which appeared in 1923 (the printing of the text was finished in 1915), contains no material of later date than December, 1718.

Belonging as it does to the minutiae of Jacobite history, this is not a book which will command a wide circle of readers. It is a record of perhaps not very important loyalties and jealousies, but, as Miss Tayler reminds us, "All the refugees wrote too much; it was one of their few occupations". Jacobite gossip was, in itself, no worse than Whig gossip. It is only because we know that theirs was never to be more than the shadowy simulacrum of a court and that, for this coterie of exiles, the day of restoration was never to dawn, that the story of their intrigues—what Mar called "this fruitful world of stories"—seems so stamped with futility.

Miss Tayler takes the most unfavorable view of that uncertain character, Mar, and it would be interesting to know upon what grounds she pronounces so confidently that Bolingbroke was judged "quite rightly" to have done less than his duty in supporting the Jacobite uprising of 1715. In general, however, her judgments are as fair as they are happy, and how happy they are can be seen from her description of the pretender as "that perennially depressed and somewhat lymphatic monarch".

The editing of the two sets of documents has been extremely well done, and the introductions to them are models of clarity and conciseness.

The University of Manitoba.

H. N. FIELDHOUSE.

Colonial Blockade and Neutral Rights, 1739-1763. By RICHARD PARES, Fellow of All Souls College. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1938. Pp. vii, 323. \$7.00.)

MR. Pares's theme is the development of prize law, culminating in the Rule of War of 1756 and the doctrine of continuous voyage. The consequences for Britain's international relations are narrated in a chapter on "The Diplomacy of Neutral Rights", disclosing the genesis of the movement for armed neutrality.

The book opens with chapters on privateering and prize courts. Examination of a multitude of cases reveals how little control executive authority had over privateers. The validity of prizes and the distribution thereof was determined by due process of law. Over the navy itself, as far as prizes were concerned, the crown seemed almost impotent. An act of 1708 prevented executive interference with prizes even when justice or diplomacy required

it. Privateers took about half the prizes, but malpractice often turned a public service into a private racket. An act of 1759 forbade privateers to accept ransom and restored to the admiralty power to revoke commissions. Questions of prize or no prize were cognizable solely in admiralty or vice-admiralty courts, a prerogative sometimes challenged by common law and chancery courts. Admiralty courts were generally free from interference, but the possibility of governmental influence inhered in the power of appointment, recommendation of procedure, declaration of a law or treaty or policy to be observed, orders-in-council, and executive instructions to privateers and implicitly to courts. Pitt felt no qualms about exerting executive influence on courts: "It would not be amiss", he once wrote to the admiralty, "to transmit the King's pleasure to the judge without any loss of time, quoting Mr. Pitt for so doing, let the effect be what it will." Nevertheless, an analysis of sittings of the prize appeals court from 1742 to 1762 shows that ministers were loath to attend and made no attempt to influence decisions. Court procedure was sometimes appalling, particularly in colonial trials: unfounded presumptions and flimsy evidence and appraisals were admitted, and legal ignorance, delays, fees, and bribes were scandalous.

Mr. Pares recognizes that despite traditions of judicial impartiality, national interest, particularly in regard to trade to the New World, had a great effect on the interpretation of neutral rights, whatever their sanctions. National interest proved a solvent of the "free ships, free goods" principle of previous treaties. Mr. Pares contends, in opposition to C. J. Kulsrud (*Maritime Neutrality to 1780*, Boston, 1936), that it was in the American trades in the mid-eighteenth century, and not earlier, that the Rule of 1756 took its rise: "the two great colonial wars of the middle of the eighteenth century introduced this new element into international prize law just because they were colonial wars". The doctrine of continuous voyage was rooted in the same struggle. A new apologetic, or mythology of imperialism, emerged to clothe the new doctrines; it was given classic expression by Lord Stowell, who had studied carefully opinions of judges of the 1740's. Neutrals were enraged by the destruction of rights to participate in French carrying trade in wartime. France fanned their discontent and tried in vain to organize a maritime league, a prelude which deepens our understanding of armed neutrality in 1780 and 1801.

The author handles an impressive mass of admiralty decisions and diplomatic manuscripts with scrupulous care, a discriminating sense of the significant, maturity of judgment, and clarity of style. This volume and his *War and Trade in the West Indies* (Oxford, 1936) prove Mr. Pares a reliable authority on international relations in the eighteenth century.

Pomona College.

FRANK W. PITMAN.

L'organisation corporative de la France d'ancien régime. Par FR. OLIVIER-MARTIN, membre de l'Institut, professeur à la Faculté de Droit de Paris. (Paris: Librairie du Recueil Sirey. 1938. Pp. xiii, 565. 80 fr.)

THIS latest volume by an eminent historian of French law sheds new light upon the history of French guilds and their relation to the monarchy of the old regime. Olivier-Martin defines a guild as "un type d'organisation sociale où des groupements obligatoires basés sur la profession ont dans l'Etat un rôle reconnu et jouissent de certaines prérogatives pour accomplir leurs fins" (p. ix). By this juridical approach he clarifies the distinction between a *corps* and, respectively, a *communauté*, an *ordre*, a *compagnie*, a *collège*, a *confrérie*, and a *syndicat*. He excludes from this study nonprofessional corps.

The first seven chapters survey the historical development of nearly all guilds or types of guilds. The inclusion of universities, chambers of commerce, and French traders with the Levant attest the inclusiveness of the survey. Olivier-Martin adds new considerations on craft guilds to the authoritative work of Étienne Martin Saint-Léon, *L'histoire des corporations de métiers* (Paris, 1922). His distinction between the *métier juré*, *métier réglé*, *métier érigé en offices*, *métier libre*, and *métier fédéré*, as forms of corporative organization, merits attention.

The most significant contribution of the book is a summary of the theory of corporative organization of the *ancien régime* (ch. viii). There is a careful analysis of the prerogatives which endow a guild with a public character. Among these the two most important are the right to sue in court as a corporate group and the right to make statutes binding upon the members. Olivier-Martin suggests that the functioning of the former as a limitation upon royal power and the relation of the latter to common law have not been adequately investigated. The author contends that the guilds were semi-public organs, distinct from the individual masters who composed them. This is obviously true of lawyers and corps of petty officials, but he argues that it is true also of commercial and craft guilds. The evidence for craft guilds is not altogether convincing, and one may question whether such duties as policing river navigation, supervision of weights and measures, or a specific role in local law enforcement were not the exception rather than the rule.

The theory of the relation of guilds to the monarch under the old regime is an enlargement of the principles outlined by the author in 1932 in his *Précis de l'histoire du droit français*. According to this theory, the monarch served to unite France and to maintain an equilibrium between the corporative groups, which were intermediate between the individual and the king; guild prerogatives tempered royal absolutism. Historians may challenge Olivier-Martin's interpretation of the royal issuance of *lettres de maîtrise* as being not a financial expedient but a corrective to guild monopoly—one of the measures to maintain an equilibrium in the *ancien régime*.

Chapter ix on the decline and suppression of the guilds is an enlargement of an article by the author which was published in a collection of studies in 1937 (*L'organisation corporative du moyen âge à la fin de l'ancien régime*, in *Recueil de travaux*, Université de Louvain, série 2, fascicule 44). Although political philosophers of the eighteenth century acquiesced in intermediate agencies in the state, economists misunderstood the old regime and, without consciously desiring an individualistic regime, helped to undermine the old regime by their attack on guilds. In suppressing the guilds Turgot was a political revolutionary, and their reconstitution was consistent with the traditional corporative monarchy. Olivier-Martin notes the absence of direct attacks on guilds in 1788 and 1789. According to him the real reason for the suppression during the Revolution was not abuses in the guild regime but the incompatibility of corporative organization with the individualist regime set up by the Revolution.

Olivier-Martin should be commended for his use of recent monographic material, but in a book of over five hundred pages a bibliography is essential. The author indicates where sufficient monographic material is lacking, and this should lead to future research along many lines. Evidence drawn from Parisian guilds outweighs citations from provincial cities of France. Although Olivier-Martin utilizes eighteenth century developments, further study of the decline of the guilds might lead to modifications of his theories. The most serious gap is from the reconstitution of the guilds in 1777 until their suppression. This period has long been neglected, and the author makes no attempt to discover new material. Was this a period of dissolution of the corporative organization of the old regime? Was the regime being transformed almost imperceptibly so that the king no longer represented the general welfare and was no longer maintaining an equilibrium among the corps?

The guild theory of the old regime has significance for contemporary France. Olivier-Martin asserts that corporative organizations reappeared in the late nineteenth century and implies that the Republican government has not always successfully defended public interest against the private interests of the new professional corps. He is an advocate of the corporative regime, for he feels that it will guarantee public welfare better than either a republican democracy based upon individual rights or a totalitarian absolutism. This volume should provoke research and discussion.

Hunter College.

BEATRICE F. HYSLOP.

France: A History of National Economics, 1789-1939. By SHEPARD BANCROFT CLOUGH, Columbia University. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1939. Pp. ix, 498. \$3.50.)

"THE main issue of a history of national economics must be to determine the good of public policy as regards economics, to chronicle the measures

that have been taken to attain that goal, and to analyze the effects of these measures." In these words Professor Clough in his last chapter, entitled "Recapitulation", defines the purpose of his book. But it is more than this definition implies. The author is keenly interested in political as well as economic theory and is thoroughly familiar with the political history of France. The long "Bibliography and Notes" shows the depth and thoroughness of his research and is quite as interesting to the scholar as the text.

Dr. Clough's thesis, of which the book is full from start to finish, is the rise of economic nationalism to complete and unquestioned supremacy in the world of the twentieth century. The reviewer does not question this thesis, but he believes that the historian's mission is to judge with impartiality the events and policies he records and the men who carried them out. He feels also that we should not repudiate the past without giving our reasons and that, perhaps, a slight expression of regret would be seemly. It seems to him that Dr. Clough has accepted national economics, which includes a high protective tariff, with somewhat unholy joy and without a single glance backward at the ideas of free trade which were so freely taught in our youth by men who were far from purely classical.

The author has spent much time in France and clearly knows the country well and some of its leading citizens. His whole book shows his keen appreciation of French character and temperament as well as his knowledge of French history, yet he scarcely mentions the geography of France. It seems to the reviewer that the unfortunate situation of most French seaports with regard to markets and industrial regions goes far to explain the weakness shown at all times by French shipping. The author shows clearly the weakness of the French merchant marine and the repeated efforts made by the government to overcome it, and he admits that they failed in great part, yet he does not clearly show why.

Dr. Clough tells us that France under Colbert adopted a definite policy of working for national self-sufficiency, and he describes brilliantly the economic principles and facts involved. Is it not also, however, of great importance that at that time, when a choice of policy was still possible, France was ruled by Louis XIV, who preferred Continental domination and war to security and peace at home and the development of a colonial empire? Does not this help to explain why France remained relatively weak commercially? And had a different policy been followed, might not the handicap of the French seaports have been partly overcome?

In his analysis of the measures taken to attain the goals of French public policy Dr. Clough is always sound and scholarly, and frequently his interpretation is inspiring as well as lucid, as in his summary of the Napoleonic period. But he is less successful in his analyses of economic measures, and because of his complete approval of protection he sometimes refrains from necessary criticism or praise. It is true that the sources of evidence on French

industry are frequently amazingly difficult to find, largely because the French writers themselves have been chiefly technicians or legally trained administrative officials, or else they have been rural idealists writing from their country estates about industrial questions of which they had little personal knowledge. Bibliographies are seldom very helpful here, and evidence is frequently so scattered as to make the search for it seem hopeless. Yet it is disappointing that Dr. Clough has not tried harder to find it because his book is so unusually good that he arouses almost unreasonable expectations in the mind of the reader.

The reviewer feels, finally, that Dr. Clough has not shown clearly the price paid for protection. He has tried to show the results of protection, and where he has failed in this it has been because a clear explanation was impossible, or because there was not enough factual evidence. But he has not shown how the failure to apply adequately the spur of foreign competition to French industry has weakened it and prevented progress by making it appear unnecessary to work for it. Dr. Clough's view seems to be that the liberal tariff policy of the Second Empire was regrettable but, fortunately, did little harm. The reviewer believes that it did much good and that in the earlier period, that of the *Monarchie censitaire*, the rigidly high tariff seriously delayed the industrial development of France.

The University of Michigan.

ARTHUR L. DUNHAM.

England's Years of Danger: A New History of the World War, 1792-1815, dramatised in Documents. By PAUL FRISCHAUER. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1938. Pp. xvii, 342. \$2.75.)

The French Revolution as told by Contemporaries. By E. L. HIGGINS, Arkansas State Teachers College. Under the Editorship of William L. Langer, Coolidge Professor of History, Harvard University. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1938. Pp. x, 463. \$2.75.)

THE trend toward presenting or "dramatizing" history by well-chosen excerpts from contemporary documents is again emphasized by the publication recently of four works of this character in modern European history—the two volumes here under review, Langsam's excellent collection of *Documents and Readings in the History of Europe since 1918*, and the scholarly volume by Temperley and Penson on *Foundations of British Foreign Policy*.

The ambitious title as well as the material of Frischauer's little volume suggests an interesting parallel between the dangers to England during the Napoleonic Wars and those of today, thus giving a slight propaganda tinge to the book. The excerpts are, as a rule, quite short and linked together by historical notes which help to give a fairly continuous account of certain aspects of the struggle. Orders in council, however, are touched upon very lightly, and the important institution of the license system is not men-

tioned in the index, a fact that reflects a somewhat superficial understanding of the fundamental problems of Britain's titanic struggle with Napoleon's Continental System. The author's statement that "the new epoch in world history was ushered in on February 1, 1793, when the news of the execution of Louis XVI reached London" (p. ix) is one of several to which exception may well be taken. The sources from which the numerous excerpts are taken cover an unusually wide range, from memoirs and diaries to official papers and even recommendations to the directors of the Bank of England. This adds variety to a "mosaic" which, however, lacks both clarity of definition and a comprehensive pattern. Unfortunately, too, exact references to the sources are not given.

By contrast, the editorial method of *The French Revolution as told by Contemporaries* is impeccable. The technique is both scholarly and practical; there is at the end of the volume a bibliography with a succinct biographical note on each of the contemporary authors from whose writings the extracts in the text are taken. Nevertheless, the effort to present "a connected narrative" through "the medium of contemporaries" is very difficult. The problems inherent in the plan itself cannot be easily solved. With so many extracts, the broader sweep and depth of the revolutionary current is apt to be obscured or lost altogether. On the other hand, the atmosphere and the spirit of the Revolution is at times very successfully recaptured. Since so many of the selections are drawn from memoirs, a critical statement about their use as historical source material would have been in order. To those approaching the history of the Revolution from the point of view of Aulard or that of Fling's *Source Problems of the French Revolution*, Professor Higgins's volume will afford stimulating food for critical thought and study.

The University of Pennsylvania.

WILLIAM E. LINGELBACH.

A Diary of the French Revolution. By GOUVERNEUR MORRIS, 1752-1816, Minister to France during the Terror. Edited by BEATRIX CARY DAVENPORT. Two volumes. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1939. Pp. xlv, 618; 652. \$9.00.)

THIS diary has long been familiar through the selections from it by Jared Sparks in his *Life and Correspondence of Gouverneur Morris* and by Ann Cary Morris in the *Diary and Letters* of her grandfather and especially through the use made of the entries by French conservative critics of the Revolution. It covers much besides the Revolutionary struggle but not all of that, for after August 10, 1792, the entries diminish rapidly and soon cease. As Morris early in the period made one diplomatic and several business trips to London and journeyed in the Netherlands and the Rhine country, the diary includes his travel notes. These remind us of Arthur Young, with their precise observations on the state of agriculture, soils, crops, and prices. As Morris's original errand to Paris was for the purpose of persuading the

farmers general to carry out their tobacco contract with Robert Morris as well as of forwarding some commercial speculations of his own, the diary at first records negotiations with bankers rather than political discussions. He did not at first seem much interested by what was going on in the spring of 1789, but with the upheaval in the summer and fall his attitude changed.

Never lacking in self-assurance, Morris expressed his opinions emphatically. He soon acquired the reputation of making prophecies which had a way of coming true. Flattered by the attentions of his noble friends, he distributed judgments upon measures and men with an amazing air of infallibility. But now that we have a completer record, superseding that in the *Diary and Letters*, the list of misjudgments begins to lengthen. A more careful examination of them all would certainly reduce his reputation as a seer to suitable proportions. Even Miss Davenport, Morris's great-granddaughter, finds that in the critical months of 1792 "his knack of prophecy is not functioning".

The record of the period of the Constituent Assembly forms the bulk of the *Diary*, all the first volume and half of the second. In reading this one cannot escape a feeling of astonishment that it does not contain a single word of sympathy for the great work of social reconstruction, the very foundation of modern France, which the assembly, notwithstanding its many blunders, successfully effected. Indeed the diarist seems quite unconscious of what was actually taking place.

One conclusion that the *Diary* imposes is that the eleven senators who voted against the nomination of Morris in 1792 as minister to France were abundantly justified. Washington, long a personal friend, felt bound to mention to Morris some of the criticisms, among them levity of conduct and meddling in French politics. Morris pledged himself henceforward to give no ground for such attacks. The levity certainly persisted, although Morris's dubious friendship for Madame de Flahaut had cooled off considerably by the spring of 1792. He tried for a time to keep his promise not to meddle in politics, but as the position of Louis XVI rapidly became desperate, he ignored the pledge and, from the vantage point of a sacrosanct position as foreign minister, worked hard to save king and monarchy.

Another conclusion from an examination of the full text of the diary is that the *Diary and Letters* was an unreliable piece of editing, at least as far as concerns Morris's private conduct, especially his *liaison* with Madame de Flahaut. By omitting clauses or sentences in passages within quotation marks and not indicating these omissions, by ending a quotation just before a sentence which totally changes the implication, and by altering words, the editor of that collection protected the reputation of her grandfather or at least refrained from shocking the conventions of her own generation (*cf. Diary and Letters*, I, 136, with *Diary*, I, 157; p. 140 of the former with

p. 164 of the latter; p. 141 with p. 165; pp. 175-76 with pp. 244-45; p. 401, "her connection with another", with II, 158, "her connection with me").

Miss Davenport has done her work as editor well. Her notes are adequate and composed in the lively style of her excellent introduction. She is a warm admirer of her particular "Founding Father". She even offers ample apologies for the fatuous complacency and wearisome iteration with which he records his triumphs over French frailty. She reminds her readers that they are "prying at keyholes", which is not quite the case since the doors have been thrown wide open. There is still unprinted a volume of Morris's diary abroad which he resumed after he ceased to be minister.

Western Reserve University.

HENRY E. BOURNE.

De Afschaffing der Gilden in Nederland. Door Dr. C. WISKERKE. [Bijdragen voor Economische Geschiedenis.] (Amsterdam: H. J. Paris. 1938. Pp. viii, 247. 3.75 fl.)

DURING the past fifty years the three leading universities in the Netherlands have devoted comparatively little attention to the economic history of the Dutch Republic, although this state was the most important center of economic activity in early modern times. The recently established Commercial University in Rotterdam, on the other hand, has blazed the way for fruitful research in Dutch economic history. Under the guidance of Professor Z. W. Sneller eight books have been published, all of which deal with the subject, but, curiously, they all treat topics that belong to the period when Holland had ceased to be an important nation. British and American scholars would welcome new works that illuminate Dutch economic expansion in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, for such studies are still rare in any language.

Dr. Wiskerke's book deals with the abolition of the guilds in the Netherlands in the period from 1795 to 1820. Under French influence the theories of the physiocrats spread rapidly throughout the Dutch Republic, but before 1795 the many guilds which were still in existence were not widely curtailed. The great export industries and the domestic industries in the rural districts, however, had never submitted to the influence of the guild system and the late medieval economic ideas that are styled "precapitalistic".

According to many Dutch writers the constitution of 1798, which was intended to abolish the guilds in the Netherlands, merely knocked the last breath out of the dying guild system. Others held that the guilds were extinguished in 1810, when France annexed Holland. Very few referred to the revival of the guilds after 1801 and their definitive abolition under King William I in 1818. Some guilds have even continued their existence until the present day, such as that of the cheese carriers at Alkmaar and that of the grain carriers at Franeker. Wiskerke also shows that certain features of the

gild system are once more being considered salutary and have been revived in other forms. He successfully refutes the well-known thesis of Karl Marx, according to which the manufacturers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries played a role of the utmost importance in the rise of modern industry (p. 23). He has consulted a mass of original sources and has found powerful customs and ideas at work among all classes of people which aided the manufacturers and the bourgeoisie in general. His book is well documented and presents an excellent bibliography, but it does not contain an index.

The University of Michigan.

A. HYMA.

Princess Lieven. By H. MONTGOMERY HYDE. (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company. 1938. Pp. 288. \$3.50.)

The Correspondence of Lord Aberdeen and Princess Lieven, 1832-1854. Volume I, 1832-1848. Edited for the Royal Historical Society by E. JONES PARRY. [Camden Third Series.] (London: the Society. 1938. Pp. xxi, 291.)

As a political figure Princess Dorothea Lieven was a worthy country-woman of Catherine the Great. Passionately Russian, though easily bored with Russia itself, she was endowed with qualities which enabled her to fence and intrigue with the masculine directors of public affairs. As a correspondent she commented extensively, entertainingly, and with insight on the issues of the day. Drawing upon evidence recently released, Mr. Hyde has composed the first biography in English of this amazing charmer and incorrigible intriguer. It is with her career as the wife of the Russian ambassador in London from 1812 to 1834 that this work principally deals. Few will dissent from the author's conclusion that "probably no foreigner living in this country has ever exercised such a remarkable influence in society and affairs" (p. 212). The rest of the study, while in the nature of prologue and epilogue, traces Dorothea's life from schooldays until her death, at seventy-two, with the faithful Guizot hovering near. Not much that was of public interest eluded the itching fingers of this bewitching Egeria. She proffered advice to all manner of prominent men on all manner of questions, from court etiquette through the composition of English ministries to the best candidates for the newly reared thrones of Greece and Belgium. Palmerston, whom she imagined she had helped into the foreign ministry, contrived her husband's recall, which proved her own undoing. After that she spent most of the rest of her life in Paris, where her salon became a hotbed of intrigue and she found her last and greatest lover, Guizot. Devoted throughout her diversified career to the ideals of the *ancien régime*, Dorothea was unable to comprehend the dynamic forces which industrialism and 1789 had unloosed.

Diplomatic and political episodes in which the princess was interested are cleverly summarized and her role in connection with them defined. Mr. Hyde pays little attention to the personal, the inner side of her character; were it not for the extracts from her letters, skillfully woven into the narrative, it would be difficult to understand how she was able to captivate such disparate personalities as the Grand Duke Constantine, Metternich, Castlereagh, Canning, Lord Grey, and Guizot. There is a soberness about the biography, a prosaic quality, which belies the actual career of its subject. Sources of information are carefully appraised, there is an adequate bibliography, and a set of excellent illustrations.

Among the sources examined by Mr. Hyde was the correspondence exchanged between the princess and Lord Aberdeen. Those manuscripts together with a few of Guizot's letters make up Mr. Parry's volume. They illuminate corners of Dorothea's later life which her biographer has chosen to dismiss briefly and emphasize her detestation of Palmerston as the champion of liberalism and her long intimacy with Guizot. The text is prefaced by a model introduction and is accompanied by competent explanatory notes, mostly biographical.

The University of Rochester.

ARTHUR J. MAY.

The Letters of King George IV, 1812-1830. Published by Authority of His Late Majesty King George V. Edited by A. ASPINALL. With an Introduction by Professor C. K. Webster. Three volumes. (Cambridge: University Press; New York: Macmillan Company. 1938. Pp. lxxxiv, 525; 554; 546. \$23.00.)

THESE three volumes contain approximately sixteen hundred items selected from the more than sixteen thousand that constitute the papers of George IV now preserved at Windsor. The editing by Mr. Aspinall is careful and adequate; the format and printing are appropriate. A list of the items published, numbered according to their arrangement, appears as a prelude to the first volume. Appended to the same volume are genealogical tables of the houses of Hanover, Württemberg, and Mecklenburg-Strelitz and a list of the members of the British cabinet between 1812 and 1830.

The editor's preface, four pages in length, is chiefly an account of the previous custody and the migrations of the papers now in the Royal Library at Windsor, from which these selections were made. Mr. Aspinall points out that George IV was the first British king to "employ a private secretary". A number of the letters printed in the first volume were addressed to Sir John McMahon, the first to hold that office. The prince regent's ministers, especially the secretaries of state, were at the outset fearful that Sir John's functions might be unduly extensive. Sir William Knighton, who served the king in his last years in this and other personal and confidential capacities,

seems to have helped to allay these fears. With a king of the character of George IV it was perhaps clear by that time that some such functionary was necessary in order to enable the monarch to perform his duties.

Professor Webster contributes an introduction in which he pronounces the letters to be "as unsatisfactory as the life which they portray". He notes that many of the king's papers were taken away by his several secretaries, while others were destroyed, and hints that the surviving materials may not be those that would have been most interesting to historians. It would certainly help toward an understanding of the prince's behavior in the early stages of the regency if we could have the papers previous to 1812.

The letters printed in these volumes throw light chiefly on the political and constitutional history of the time. They contain evidence sufficient to convince anyone still unaware that in the early decades of the nineteenth century the king was active in public affairs, that cabinets were regarded as his "personal choice", and that he had a substantial voice in their formation. A considerable number of the letters are from the king's brothers, the dukes of Cambridge, Clarence, Cumberland, Kent, Sussex, and York. These letters show the behavior of George IV to have been more appropriately fraternal and generous than has sometimes been represented. There are communications from most of the ministers of the crown in these years, though in the opinion of Professor Webster only in the case of Canning is "very much new light . . . thrown on the principal statesmen of the reign".

The mistresses of the king's youth are largely absent from these letters. The transition from Lady Hertford to Lady Conyngham created a momentary difficulty for Castlereagh, whose wife was a connection of the former. But George in his later years seems to have been moved less by passionate attachment than by a desire for a domestic circle in which he could feel at ease. There is some new information concerning his unfortunate relations with his wife, the Princess Caroline. While agreeing that the "more generous side of his character was completely submerged" where she was concerned, Professor Webster is reluctantly convinced that she was guilty of adultery and, what was "far worse", of an "attempt to corrupt, or at least compromise, her own daughter". The behavior of George toward that daughter and toward his own mother reveals him in a better light.

Aside from the items concerning the participation of the monarch in the government and concerning the court circle, historians will find little of importance in these letters. It is true that George IV, more than his father, was a patron of the fine arts. Concerning the Congress of Vienna there is little, and that unimportant. On other aspects of foreign relations, for example, Portugal, the former Spanish colonies, and Greece, there are a few items. There is more concerning the relations between England and Hanover and more still concerning the king's persistent opposition to Catholic Eman-

cipation. If, as Professor Webster notes, "the common people are hardly mentioned", we do have, as he admits, "the most intimate association with those in high places", and it is necessary to be acquainted with them in order to understand their time even though we agree that by the end of the reign it was highly appropriate that some of them "retire from the scene".

Duke University.

W. T. LAPRADE.

A Century of Diplomatic Blue Books, 1814-1914. Lists edited, with Historical Introduction, by HAROLD TEMPERLEY and LILLIAN M. PENSON. (Cambridge: University Press; New York: Macmillan Company. 1938. Pp. xvi, 600. \$10.00.)

THE publication of blue books has a constitutional significance as well as a source value to be appraised with cautious criticism. Was the government compelled by the pressure of public opinion, exerted through parliament, to lay certain diplomatic documents for public printing? Are the diplomatic documents thus published an honest representation of the subject, or are significant papers withheld? These two questions are of great importance for the critical historian.

Two distinguished British historical scholars have made it easier to answer these questions in the study of such British state papers by their labors in providing this tool for historical research. The volume provides in a methodical manner a list of the titles of foreign office blue books from Castlereagh to Grey and adds the dates on which they were laid before parliament. It indicates also the different methods by which a paper was laid, whether by command, by order of the house, or in reply to an address to the crown—all involving constitutional points of significance for the student, who otherwise would have to make laborious searches in the not easily available journals of the house of commons or house of lords for these dates. It also serves as a complete bibliography of these papers.

Accompanying the bibliographical data, so admirably arranged, are a series of essays on the "blue book policy" of the successive secretaries of state in charge of foreign relations. Castlereagh, in time of war, opened the way for generous publication of diplomatic documents, his object being to excite feeling against Napoleon. Canning, in time of peace, published very liberally; so did Palmerston—seeking thus to utilize public opinion. Gladstone's policy was more restrained, but in the Disraeli period, the authors explain, public opinion forced the unwilling hands of Derby and Salisbury and drove them to follow the lavish tradition of the Palmerstonian age in the publication of diplomatic documents. Curiously enough, the advent of a more democratic era brought a curtailment: Sir Edward Grey took the public into his confidence much less than had Palmerston. The editors caution scholars not to rely on the blue books too much; they are never in them-

selves sufficient. "Much was always omitted and texts were frequently curtailed."

Similar guides to the printed diplomatic documents of other major powers during that British century of history are desirable.

Yale University.

SAMUEL FLAGG BEMIS.

L'Europe du xix^e siècle et l'idée de nationalité. Par GEORGES WEILL, professeur honoraire à l'Université de Caen. [L'évolution de l'humanité.] (Paris: Albin Michel. 1938. Pp. xvi, 480. Plates VIII. 45 fr.)

PROFESSOR Weill, well-known for his studies on the social and intellectual history of nineteenth century France, has tried in the present volume to give us a synthesis of nineteenth century European history from the point of view of nationalism. The book does not entirely live up to its title. It does not deal primarily with the idea of nationality, its changes and various forms of expression; it is less a theoretical study than a historical narrative in which the threads of national movements are dexterously interwoven. The narrative starts in 1815 and ends, abruptly, in 1900. The period is divided, rather conventionally, into three sections: the first, on the formation of the idea of nationality, covers the period from 1815 to 1848; the second, dealing with the first explosions and the first triumphs of the idea, carries the reader to 1870; and the last thirty years of the century are viewed as a time of apparent retrogression but real progress in the development of the idea of nationality.

Within this frame the book presents a noteworthy achievement. It is vividly and interestingly written, and the great lines of European history are never lost sight of. At the same time consideration is given not only to the more important nations but also to the smaller peoples and their national movements. The presentation is enlivened by a great number of apt quotations from nationalist leaders and thinkers, which in themselves represent valuable material for the study of the idea of nationality. There is no doubt that the interpretation of modern European history from the point of view of nationalism and of national developments adds to a better understanding of that history. Professor Weill has the gift of making us feel, within a small compass, the immense variety of national life in nineteenth century Europe and at the same time of showing how Europe is dominated by forces of great permanence. In many ways the history of 1939 reads like a continuation of many aspirations and theories the origins of which Professor Weill traces through the latter part of the nineteenth century. Thus the book gains in topical interest and may be used with advantage by students who know French well enough to enjoy the clarity and simplicity of the author's style.

Smith College.

HANS KOHN.

The Evolution of Finance Capitalism. By GEORGE W. EDWARDS, The City College, New York. (New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1938. Pp. xvi, 429. \$4.00.)

PROFESSOR Edwards has been known for his work on American banking, foreign trade, and investments. In the present book he turns to study the flow of liquid capital through the instrumentality of stocks and bonds. Throughout he uses the term "security capitalism" to apply to the system that provides the flow. In adopting this term he is following Robert Liefmann, as he tells us. In the title, and there only, he uses the term "Finance Capitalism", taken from another German writer, Rudolf Hilferding, the Marxian interpreter. Finance capitalism as used by Hilferding, however, means the building up of big corporations or the holding together of smaller units in cartels by means of financial power. The reader is confused by the shift in terminology and suspects that it was due to some last-minute advice that was ill advised. I do not mean that "security capitalism" represents an acceptable concept but that it does describe the author's special emphasis.

In the opinion of the author there are two kinds of security capitalism—industrial and banking—the nature of which we must infer from scattered statements. There are three characteristics which the author ascribes to security capitalism—the democratization of capitalism, the creation of stocks and bonds, and the impersonalization of the relation between investors and the recipients of capital. The concept of security capitalism does not appear to me to be fundamental, however, for it merely points to a device found in mercantile, industrial, financial, and national capitalism. It is probably ill advised to formulate a concept of capitalism that excludes the final *use* of the capital which has flowed from one person to another.

The author holds to the view that security capitalism began in England about 1825. He traces its subsequent growth in England, France, Germany, and the United States. The statistics presented at the end of the book are serviceable in studying this growth. As an afterthought to the general historical presentation the author explains in a note (p. 348) that in fact Holland was "the first to enter upon security capitalism"—in the late seventeenth century—and that the Dutch granted security loans to foreign countries. If Professor Edwards had studied the works of Saporì, Strieder, Ehrenberg, W. R. Scott, and Hauser, he might have presented the historical development quite otherwise. He would have emphasized 1345, 1558, and 1720, as well as 1825 and subsequent crises. He does refer to Ehrenberg's work but wrongly represents it as concerned with individual capitalism, which preceded security capitalism and included both the single entrepreneur and the partnership.

In considering the flow of capital we should not forget that it was by no means confined to security transactions. For instance, the medieval partnerships provided an investment flow when, even in the twelfth century, a

stay-at-home capitalist became the partner of a traveling merchant in a single venture. A similar situation existed in later Italian terminal partnerships in which a senior partner invested capital (with or without managerial responsibilities) and other investing partners contributed only capital. The distinction between individual and security capitalism does not cut very deeply or squarely.

The best part of the book deals with financial organization in America since the World War. This treatment needs no special mention here, except perhaps to note that historians might very profitably study it.

The policy of action which the author favors is moderate and liberal. He would not overthrow but keep security capitalism, though under careful regulation. Moreover, he suggests very constructively that the numerous American federal financial institutions should be consolidated into one federal financial system.

This book presents an honest and able effort to wrestle with the neglected field of public and private financial history. Historians avoid finance, particularly private finance, as they do accounting, and to their own great cost. The author has given us a book, readable and temperate, that is the result of much thought and extensive reading in economic-theoretical, financial, and communistic literature. One of its indirect services is to call our attention to the need for a series of monographs on the history of stocks and bonds—in Italy, France, Flanders, Holland, England, Germany, and the United States.

Harvard University.

N. S. B. GRAS.

Gladstone and the Irish Nation. By J. L. HAMMOND, Hon. Fellow of St. John's College, Oxford. (New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1938. Pp. xvii, 768. \$12.50.)

THE smug, condescending attitude which the Edwardians adopted in passing judgment upon the Victorians has gradually been replaced by an appreciation of the stature and worth of some of the leaders of the Victorian era. Many of them were deservedly called great; that Gladstone belonged to this group is the main thesis of the book under review.

Mr. Hammond paints on a large canvas. The Irish Question is presented in its proper setting in the British history of the nineteenth century, and the author has drawn upon his comprehensive knowledge of English social and economic history in making interesting comparisons between the opposition to factory legislation in England and the resistance to land legislation for Ireland. The approach to Gladstone's connection with the Irish Question is on a basis equally broad. Mr. Hammond demonstrates the hollowness of the oft-quoted estimate of Gladstone—"Oxford on the surface, Liverpool beneath". The roots of his ideas and ideals went beyond his native city and university to Homer and the Bible, Greek civilization and Christianity. These two forces plus his own observations and experience shaped Glad-

stone's attitude toward political issues. His outlook was European, and he was sensitive to the incongruity of England's posing as the champion of oppressed nationalities while keeping a small sister nation in bondage. But on the Irish Question as on many others Gladstone's ideas matured slowly, and when they reached fruition they were ill received by a generation to which he had become somewhat outmoded. He lacked skill in handling his colleagues; and a series of misfortunes, such as the Phoenix Park murders and the Parnell-O'Shea liaison, helped to frustrate his efforts to solve Britain's most perplexing political problem. Mr. Hammond presents the various aspects of the Irish Question in their relation to the existing conditions and with emphasis upon the personal element involved. He makes good use of the Gladstone papers, of information secured from veterans in the great struggle for Irish Home Rule, and of recent revelations, especially those of Mr. Henry Harrison. On the material, new and old, he brings to bear ripe historical scholarship, sympathy, imagination, a remarkable power of synthesis, and great skill in exposition. It is not an oft-told tale but a new story that he relates; it is enriched and illuminated by original observations and reflections. He has been especially successful in the difficult task of presenting his theme in a clear and true perspective.

Gladstone is, of course, the hero of the story, but Mr. Hammond forestalls the accusation of hero worship by pointing out Gladstone's defects as a tactician, his single-track mind, and the bad effects upon his Irish policy attributable to a long association with the treasury and too strict standards in public finance. Sometimes Mr. Hammond seems even to lean backwards in finding fault. Thus he apparently fails to realize that Gladstone had sound constitutional precedent for looking upon the position of the prime minister as one of *primus inter pares*. Consequently he could not be the "boss" of the cabinet. Furthermore the strictures passed upon his treatment of Parnell in November, 1890, are of doubtful validity. On the other hand, Mr. Hammond is rather too lenient with Disraeli and Chamberlain, both of whom were guilty of sinning "against the light".

This work must be rated among the very best that have appeared in the field of history within recent years. It is long, but there seems to be little that could have been left out. Indeed, a few points might have received more attention, for instance, the connection between Gladstone's zeal for administration and his conversion to Home Rule. The statement made by him in 1878 about the need for lessening the pressure of work upon parliament by a system of "judicious devolution" shows the direction in which he was then moving. Moreover, American students may wish a fuller explanation of the contents of some of the acts discussed, especially the measure which disestablished and disendowed the Irish church. Exception may be taken to various generalizations, but the only real blemish, the high price of the book,

which will keep it out of the hands of the reading public, must be attributed to the publishers.

The University of Wisconsin.

PAUL KNAPLUND.

The Struggle for Imperial Unity, 1868-1895. By J. E. TYLER, The University of Sheffield. [Royal Empire Society Imperial Studies.] (New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1938. Pp. viii, 219. \$5.00.)

MR. Tyler lucidly presents an analysis of the factors contributing in the latter part of the nineteenth century to the growing consciousness of the British that the empire might be a desirable asset in world affairs. In the interplay of these factors he sees a struggle, partly an unwitting one, toward empire unity as a permanent relationship, followed soon by a conscious effort to work out a *modus vivendi* acceptable to the divergent interests represented within that unity.

After a brief reference to the political nature of the revival in Great Britain of interest in the empire during the seventies, he discusses the local, colonial, and foreign concepts that firmly wove the pattern of empire in the eighties. Without attempting to weigh the influences tending toward unity at any given time, Mr. Tyler concludes that the movement persisted because the conditions that combined to produce unity were so numerous—when one source of strength failed another arose.

In Great Britain a series of depressions, especially that of 1883-86, accompanied by serious unemployment, brought a rude shock to mid-century complacency and an attempt to discover the origins of such distressing conditions. An examination of trade balances, foreign competition, increasing tariff walls on the Continent, and competing foreign colonialism led via the fair trade movement toward the "possibility of the settlement colonies" serving as an "attractive field for economic development". Yet the large-scale industries, according to Mr. Tyler's diagnosis of chamber of commerce reports, paid little heed to the empire as a possible remedy for competitive difficulties. Coincident with the economic contribution toward imperialistic thought came the important influence of expanding propaganda in literature and press, introducing the idea of "manifest destiny" and "racial responsibility".

In analyzing the relation of imperial unity to the political parties in Great Britain, Mr. Tyler dwells especially upon the opinions of Chamberlain and Dilke. Both men agreed that English democracy throughout the world should stand "shoulder to shoulder" to maintain liberalism and freedom, but they parted company on imperial preference. Home Rule was the cause of Chamberlain's defection from the Liberal party, for Home Rule would negate, he believed, the imperative demand for imperial unity. By slow degrees Chamberlain moved from the section of the Liberal party that

emphasized imperial defense to the section of the Conservative party that reached imperial preference by means of fair trade. Colonel Vincent, a Conservative, went so far as to found the United Empire Trade League in 1891, an action which confused the public mind on the merits of the Imperial Federation League.

Mr. Tyler devotes over half his book to the subjects of imperial federation, the significance of the Colonial Conference of 1887, the conflicting opinions in the self-governing colonies toward the tentative proposals, political and economic, for closer union, and the contributions to the discussion made by the Imperial Federation League itself, giving an account of the league's activities in two distinct periods, before and after the conference of 1887.

The entire work deserves careful study and needs to be examined in its entirety to get a comprehensive picture of the period. Subjects elsewhere treated in isolation or with a different synthesis here make meaningful an important period in imperial history.

New Jersey State Teachers College.

AVALINE FOLSOM.

History of the Great War based on Official Documents, by Direction of the Historical Section of the Committee of Imperial Defence: Naval Operations. Volume I, To the Battle of the Falklands, December, 1914. By Sir JULIAN S. CORBETT. Second edition. (New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1938. Pp. xix, 470. Maps 18. \$12.00.)

THE first edition of this work, published in 1920, was necessarily written almost as a contemporaneous chronicle and without benefit of German records or other source material that has become available during the ensuing years. Although Sir Julian S. Corbett died before completing the entire five volumes comprising the first edition, Volume I was wholly his. The second edition of this volume has been prepared by Lieutenant Colonel E. Y. Daniel, R. M., secretary of the Historical Section of the Committee of Imperial Defence, who has not departed from Corbett's broadminded view-point.

In its inception, shortly after the Battle of Jutland, this project was surrounded by an official aura, and this doubtless explains why the second edition preserves some of the evidence of "discretion" more understandable in the first. For instance, to restate the myth, as this new edition does, that Japanese naval co-operation was commensurate with the mutual wartime protestations of enthusiastic loyalty of both parties to the Anglo-Japanese alliance is to subordinate history to legend and to international courtesy.

This first large volume covers the four months from the declaration of war to the destruction of Admiral von Spee's squadron off the Falklands in December, 1914, the period during which the campaign ranged throughout the Seven Seas, to every spot afloat or ashore where flew a German flag.

Besides the charts and diagrams bound with the text there is an accompanying box of eighteen loose maps covering virtually all of the operations. The dramatic major clashes of forces, usually overemphasized in naval narrative, are here kept in proper perspective, the bulk of the space being devoted to a presentation of the world-wide campaign in all of its complex interrelated aspects. This is given with a completeness not to be found in any unofficial account.

This work explains such matters as how, during the World War, the movement of a single ship in Asiatic waters often dictated squadron and fleet operations on the opposite side of the globe, how each unit of the royal navy and its allies was but a cog in a vast machine designed to control maritime communications everywhere, and how a thorough grasp of the world-wide problem in its entirety and an unfailing concentration upon the ultimate objective were necessary to direct such a campaign to a successful conclusion.

To understand present-day events, it is particularly important to re-examine the naval situation as it stood just prior to the outbreak of war in 1914, what transpired when hostilities commenced, the strategical significance of the colonies respectively possessed by the stronger and the weaker of the opposing sea powers, the difficulties involved in the reduction of the German outposts, and the costly unpreparedness and strategical blunders of both sides. The unpreparedness is shown to have existed not merely with respect to personnel, ships, and shore establishments but also and even less excusably with respect to elementary naval intelligence, advance operating plans, and preliminary liaison, the last notably in the case of Anglo-French operations in the Mediterranean. It is safe to assume that Volume I of this set, because of the period it covers, casts more light upon recent preparations in Europe and the naval operations in the opening of the present war than will any of the other revised volumes.

New York City.

EDWIN A. FALK.

Survival through War and Revolution in Russia. By D. FEDOTOFF WHITE.
(Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1939. Pp. vii, 395.
\$3.00.)

To the vast literature of memoirs on the Russian Revolution Mr. White, a former officer of the Russian imperial navy, has now added one more volume, which presents an outstanding contribution in the field. It is both a human document of great intrinsic interest and a historical source of great value. It also appeals to the reader by the dramatic aspects of the author's personal adventures and in parts reads like a novel.

In appraising Mr. White's book as a historical source we must bear in mind that only in the chapter on the February Revolution was the author's narrative based on the entries of a diary kept by him at that time. The bulk

of his book was written about twenty years after the events described. Having survived the Russian turmoil, the author later on was able to adjust himself to a new life in new surroundings. He has written the story of his past at a time when he was building a future for himself. This is a very important point psychologically since it explains the remarkable spirit of detachment in which the story is told.

An important feature of Mr. White's book is that it gives fresh glimpses of the state of the Russian navy on the eve of and during the World War. While numerically still weak after the catastrophe of the Japanese War of 1904-1905, the Russian navy, from the technical point of view, was on a very high level in 1914. The personnel were well trained, and among the commanding officers there were first-rate leaders. From the outbreak of the war until the Revolution the Russian Baltic squadron not only succeeded in protecting the northern part of the Baltic Sea from any aggressive operations of the Germans but even ventured occasionally to lay mines in German waters. In his recollections Mr. White gives ample evidence of the progressive tendencies in the Russian navy on the eve of the Revolution. In a sense the author's personality is a testimony of the high standards of the institution to which he belonged.

The student of modern Russia will find much interesting material in other parts of the book as well. Mr. White knew intimately Admiral Kolchak, who became the leader of the antibolshevik movement in Siberia in 1918. In spite of his being a man of lofty character and an excellent naval officer, Admiral Kolchak proved to be a complete failure as a "dictator". Mr. White's book adds much to the understanding of Kolchak's pathetic plight and the inevitability of his tragic end.

Yale University.

GEORGE VERNADSKY.

Rome vs. Rome: "A Chapter of My War Memoirs". By V. E. ORLANDO.

Translated by Clarence Beardslee. (New York: S. F. Vanni. 1937. Pp. 191. \$1.75.)

THIS book is a notable contribution to the rapidly growing literature on the singular relations between the Kingdom of Italy and the Roman Catholic Church. Orlando brings to the subject his learning as a jurist and his experience as a cabinet minister.

Historical, political, and juridical aspects of the Roman Question receive penetrating treatment in the introduction (pp. 21-80), written by Orlando in collaboration with the young and distinguished scholar, Edoardo Ruffini. Further sections of the book, written by Orlando alone and representing only in part a translation of his *Su alcuni miei rapporti di governo con la Santa Sede* (Naples, 1930), embody his valuable recollections of church-state relations in Italy during the pontificate of Pius X, during the World War, and during the immediate postwar period when, as prime minister, he

carried on negotiations with Monsignor Cerretti for the solution of the Roman Question.

The entire volume reinforces the conclusion drawn by those students of Italian history who have paid more attention to substance than to form, namely, that despite the formal and *de jure* antagonism between church and state from 1870 to 1929, the actual and *de facto* relations of both parties over a considerable part of this period were handled with great skill and moderation. It is the amicable *modus vivendi* between the church and the Italian state that Orlando emphasizes. He recalls how the Italian government and the Holy See dealt with several delicate problems during the years 1907-10, when he served as minister of grace, justice, and the cults. Particularly revealing are his recollections of church-state relations during the World War, when he served in the same capacity and later as prime minister. Although Italy was at war and the papacy was suspected of being favorable to the Central Powers, the Italian government respected the independence of the papacy and enabled it to carry on its work unfettered by secular interference. The integrity and tact thus exemplified by Italian statesmen constituted an achievement which redounds to the credit of the prefascist Italian liberal governments.

Quite surprising is the advanced progress made by Orlando and Monsignor Cerretti in their negotiations at Paris in June, 1919. These negotiations, based upon a plan prepared by Cardinal Gasparri, were mainly concerned with the problem of giving the Holy See a small piece of territory and conferring upon it the character of a sovereign state. No reference was made to a financial contribution from the Italian government, which is now arranged for in the Financial Convention of the Lateran Accords, and there was no discussion of a concordat, which forms another part of the accords. The negotiations came to naught largely because of the resignation of the Orlando Ministry in June, 1919.

Translated in this volume are Monsignor Cerretti's diary of his conversation with Orlando and the latter's accompanying note, which were first published in the June-July, 1929, issue of *Vita e Pensiero*, a Catholic periodical. The reviewer was struck by certain curious passages attributed by Cerretti to Orlando, but there is no space to discuss them here.

Although *Rome vs. Rome* deals primarily with church-state relations in Italy, it is also important for the light it throws on Italy's and Orlando's role at the Paris Peace Conference. Strangely enough, what Orlando has to say about Wilson and Italy's problems at the Peace Conference has been completely ignored by so-called authorities on Italy at the conference. Is it not high time that we pay closer attention to what Italians are writing about themselves?

Mr. Beardslee's translation is on the whole awkward and stilted. When the parts of the work which have been published in Italian are compared

with this translation, instances of omissions and inaccuracies are found. For that reason scholars are urged wherever possible to check it with the original Italian versions. There is no index.

Queens College.

GAUDENS MEGARO.

Alla difesa d'Italia in guerra e a Versailles. By SILVIO CRESPI. (Milan: Mondadori. 1937. Pp. xxiv, 844. 30 l.)

THE dearth of Italian material on the peace negotiations of 1919 makes all the more important this diary of one of the chief Italian participants. Crespi was, in fact, in the thick of the Peace Conference from the beginning, even though he did not become a member of the Italian delegation until May, 1919.

Crespi, a businessman, joined the cabinet formed by Orlando after Caporetto and became head of the ministry of supply. His diary, beginning in November, 1917, deals with the difficult task of securing adequate supplies of food and raw materials; it also throws light on the origins of the Congress of Oppressed Nationalities held in Rome in April, 1918.

After Bissolati's resignation, just before Wilson's visit to Rome, Crespi exerted all his influence in inducing Orlando to get rid of Nitti (Crespi's particular *bête noire*) with the result that Sonnino's influence became dominant. Sonnino was a strict adherent to the Treaty of London, and Orlando thought it expedient to ask for all that the treaty promised Italy and for Fiume in addition. He thus found himself confronted with American, as well as British and French, opposition; and when he endeavored to exchange Fiume for Dalmatia, he found that the bargain could not be made. This move Sonnino did not think it wise to attempt.

The most valuable section of Crespi's diary is the one (ch. xii) covering the official absence of the Italians from Paris as the result of Wilson's public appeal of April 23 regarding Fiume. Crespi was left during this interval as the chief Italian representative in Paris, and he gives us a vivid picture of the lack of co-ordination in the Italian camp. After Orlando had received a vote of confidence in parliament, his colleagues in Paris expected him to return at once, and they grew daily more anxious at his unaccountable delay. Their dispatches to Rome at this period, describing the growing impatience of the Allies and their steadily increasing pressure, and the replies from Rome are given in an appendix of fifty-eight documents. Crespi soon became confirmed in his idea that new men ought to take over the reins: Sonnino was taking action in Asia Minor on his own initiative; Crespi's own part in drawing up the Tardieu Plan only brought about a violent dispute with Sonnino; and at one time even Orlando, in whose trust he relied, had his correspondence watched. It was not long before Orlando went down in defeat, but although his succession was taken over by Nitti, Crespi consented to remain as a delegate until a serious illness in July put an end to his work.

Also important is the fact that Crespi was appointed to the committee constituted by Great Britain, France, and Italy to examine the application of Article 13 of the Treaty of London. We thus have an authoritative statement of the Italian colonial claims in 1919: an enlarged Libya, Jubaland, and either British Somaliland and Jibuti or else a mandate for Togo. The committee could only reach a deadlock, thus opening a dispute which is still alive.

New York City.

RENÉ ALBRECHT CARRIÉ.

Confessions of an Economic Heretic. By J. A. HOBSON. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1938. Pp. 217. \$2.00.)

Imperialism: A Study. By J. A. HOBSON. Third edition. (*Ibid.* Pp. xxx, 386. \$2.75.)

JOHN A. Hobson's charming autobiographical essay is an important document in the story of intellectual change during the last generation, particularly in the fields of social science and public policy. He has himself been a seminal influence in that change, and his review of the influences that have contributed to his own development promotes understanding of the role of the heretic in the social order.

Hobson has never been a system maker or an academician. His contributions to economic and social theory are the work of a man of independent means, whose vocational activities were in the fields of journalism and adult education. He prizes the fragmentary character of the thinking entailed by these conditions. The two major heresies with which Hobson has been identified have been an underconsumption theory of economic fluctuations and an economic theory of imperialism. The main concern unifying these points of view has been not so much a logical analysis as a mood of moral indignation. The proper goals of economic activity have seemed to him to consist in welfare conceived as something more than an accumulation of economic goods. His writings are filled with repugnance for an economic system in which value and distribution are affected by differences in bargaining power and in which selfish interest is regarded as the norm of conduct.

The critique of imperialism, which was Hobson's reaction to the Boer War, has given him perhaps his widest public and exerted the greatest historical influence. The publication of a third, revised edition of *Imperialism: A Study* recalls how relatively novel in 1902 was his emphasis upon the search for markets and outlets for profitable investment as factors in imperialism. It is needless to recall how largely the thinking of liberals and socialists alike has accepted this frame of reference, possibly too uncritically, with respect to colonial problems. Lenin incorporated whole segments of Hobson's analysis into his theory. Imperialism was not, however, for Hobson, a matter of inevitable destiny. It was a policy of the dominant classes, chosen as an alternative to a better distribution of goods at home. Thus Hobson was led to a program of democratic control of public policy and of

public control of economic activity as a means of remedying the far-reaching vices which spring from oversaving and underconsumption. A connection may be established, via Keynes and other more recent heretics, with some of the policies of the New Deal.

The profession of faith with which Hobson concludes his *Confessions* champions an economic democracy controlled by popular interests which will be in opposition to the present trend in England toward "reformed capitalism figuring as disinterested expertism" (p. 171). He looks forward to a balance between socialistic and capitalistic elements, leaving scope for a good deal of decentralized activity, especially in nonessential and nonstandardized products. Hobson admits the need of experts in government, but basic to his outlook is the generous assumption that the purposes and desires of the mass of ordinary people do tend to converge upon their own common welfare. Hobson's story of his intellectual changes reveals that he has not essentially changed at all. He remains, as he began, a radical ethical democrat.

Wellesley College.

LELAND H. JENKS.

France Overseas: A Study of Modern Imperialism. By HERBERT INGRAM PRIESTLEY, University of California. [The American Historical Association.] (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company. 1938. Pp. ix, 463. \$5.00.)

THE second largest colonial empire in the world has been surprisingly neglected by writers in the English language. Dwarfed by the larger reality of Britain's domain and forgotten in the tumult of Germany's colonial revindications, overseas France has been eclipsed in international consciousness. Indeed the French themselves often seem astonished at the vastness of their distant possessions when a colonial exposition or the presence in France of Senegalese troops brings them suddenly to mind.

Mr. Priestley has written the first one-volume history in English of France's disparate empire. The only other comparable account was published thirteen years ago in two volumes by an Australian, S. Roberts. That study dwells far more on the ideological aspect; the disparity between French colonial theory and its application is probed to its complex historical roots with an appraisal of its importance in forming and being formed by French public opinion. Mr. Priestley, on the other hand, has written an encyclopedia of imperial acquisition in which the economic role is very secondary to the political narrative and in which theoretical trends are relegated to the last chapter. The book is frankly a sober and compact presentation of facts, in chronological order, with their interpretation left almost wholly to the informed reader's discretion.

One wishes that the last chapter, "Recent Trends", had been expanded to form the bulk of the book. There the economic, psychological, and sociological aspects of colonization are only touched upon, but they inspire by far

the most interesting reflections. And even here the fiscal aspect and its influence upon French policy seem rather neglected. It is the perennial fear that colonies might become an unbearable burden on the already reluctant taxpayer that is behind the French policy of prematurely forcing their colonies to be self-supporting. Attendant evils are the retention of a low standard of native living and a slowing down of the development of the colony's resources and its political evolution.

As is the current fashion among writers on colonization, Mr. Priestley concludes that colonies are a political liability and corroborates the opinion of certain English critics that they have been proved to be likewise an economic burden. Hard to defend in the event of war, their loss through diplomatic pressure would be disastrous to French prestige. Yet contemporary France continues not only to accept this risk but also to intensify all her old policies in a fifteen-year plan aimed to make the empire self-sufficient and to remedy the shortage of labor—by conscripting what man power there is. The remedy to unprofitable colonization is apparently more imperialism. Mr. Priestley, like many other writers on the same subject, does not completely set forth all the elements which make up the very complex and often contradictory motivation of French colonial policy.

France Overseas represents a decade's herculean labors concentrated to the nth degree for reference purposes. In fact, so completely have the sentences been reduced to bone and sinew that even the most favorably predisposed reader suffers from a congestion of names, places, and concentrated information. The effort exacted by such a rush of facts to every phrase is aggravated by a monotonous use of monosyllabic words with which to open almost every sentence. The critical bibliographical notes are among the most valuable contributions in a very useful work.

Criticisms of omission seem unjust to so large-scale and meaty a work as Mr. Priestley's. But one cannot help wondering if an interpretative study of colonization, rather than so factual a compilation—even though it would risk being both personal and prejudiced—would not have left the reader with a clearer evaluation of this huge canvas depicting the control of a variety of Oriental and African peoples by a great Occidental power.

New York City.

VIRGINIA THOMPSON.

Soviets in the Arctic: An Historical, Economic, and Political Study of the Soviet Advance into the Arctic. By T. A. TARACOUZIO. [Bureau of International Research, Harvard University and Radcliffe College.] (New York: Macmillan Company. 1938. Pp. xiv, 563. Maps 7. \$7.50.)

In this important work the author of *The Soviets and International Law* raises the curtain on arctic mysteries, both those natural to the region and those peculiar to the Soviet regime. He presents in one volume, and for the first time in any language, a complete panorama of the Arctic in the history

of man and pronounces judgment as a student of law on the significance in international politics of the Soviet *Drang nach Norden*. To the painstaking documentation of the text he adds thirty-four appendixes of Soviet decrees, seven maps, and a staggering bibliography of nearly one thousand titles. The unquestioned value of the book is the vast array of documented details in the unfolding of the grandiose Soviet scheme for building something which never existed before—an arctic civilization.

In the Soviet definition the Arctic is the entire area north of 62° . The Soviet Arctic thus comprises 5,700,000 square kilometers or nearly one third of the U.S.S.R. Of particular interest in the general geographic description are the sections on the ice regime and the navigability of the seas in the Eastern Asiatic Arctic. Exploration before 1917 is presented with glamorous details regarding the many expeditions in search of the Northeast Passage. The old heroes of the North are given full credit for their contributions to man's knowledge of the ice, but their work was, of necessity, spasmodic and individualistic. It remained for the Soviet government to assault the Arctic fastness in an organized way. The difference is not only one of scale and planning but also of centralized direction, purpose, and popular support. The building of an arctic civilization has become a major national objective of the Soviet Union, to be carried out by the state according to a time schedule.

The actual condition of the Soviet Arctic is set forth in two chapters on economic development and social-cultural reconstruction. It is perhaps here that Dr. Taracouzio makes his unique contribution, using Soviet materials exclusively. Step by step he tells the long story of Soviet exploration, of geological surveys, of the first through passage in one season (1932), and of the subsequent establishment of the Northern Sea Route Administration, which controls the destinies of the Soviet North. In the portrayal arctic towns spring to the map along the coast and rivers, minerals are discovered, industries come into being, fisheries are extended, and polar agriculture offers dazzling prospects of acclimating plants and cereals of the temperate zone to the shallow soil over the frozen tundra. Accounts of the Soviet aviation exploits leave little doubt as to the feasibility of air lines over the North Pole. Meanwhile, the sovietization of the natives (actual number unknown) goes forward in education, health, and politics, pointing to a time not far distant when the Arctic will be an integral part of the modern civilized world.

In appraising these achievements the author declares that "even a partial fulfillment of their ambitions, when projected against the world affairs of the last two decades, is to be classed as one of the outstanding achievements of the post-War period". His applause, however, is tempered by an indicated distrust of Soviet data and by certain ominous conclusions. For example, he writes: "The news of human progress beyond the Arctic Circle, which in days gone by would have aroused universal enthusiasms, today may well

have a two-fold effect: rejoicing in the scientific world, and at the same time grave concern in the world of international politics."

Dr. Taracouzio does not define these forebodings. He admits the enormous contributions of the Soviets in polar science, in the guidance of ice-break convoys by aviation and radio, in weather observation, and in cartography, the results of which are available to all nations. He aptly describes the military-strategic features of the Northern sea route and postulates its use in operations against Japan. It is rather in the question of legal jurisdiction that he issues warnings as to future conflicts. Other governments have not accepted the Soviet sector theory of sovereignty in the Arctic, which would make all the land yet to be discovered subject to the jurisdiction of the subjacent state. Further controversy arises in the question of jurisdiction over ice formations which are capable of supporting radio stations and landing fields. The author believes that the legal status of the Arctic can be determined only by an international conference of the arctic powers (the United States, Canada, Denmark, Norway, Finland, and the U.S.S.R.) to establish a definite arctic doctrine in international law.

Harvard University.

BRUCE HOPPER.

AMERICAN HISTORY

Inventories of County Records and Miscellaneous State and Local Archives.

Compiled by the Historical Records Survey. (Washington: 1937-39.)

At the turn of the century the American Historical Association sponsored an inventory of state and local records. The results were of signal importance. A number of these inventories, notably the Osgood report for New York and the Mead survey of Connecticut, were unusually informative and comprehensive, considering that they were the work of individuals rather than of organized groups and were produced at modest cost. Needless to say they are no longer definitive. The present survey, launched with the encouragement of the Association and with the object of paralleling for this country the extensive survey of British records carried on a century ago, has been financed by the Works Progress Administration, whose sponsorship has made possible the employment of several thousand persons on this project over the past four years.

The first fruits of the present harvest are a group of approximately 150 inventories. Since the archives are described throughout according to a uniform plan, these are a fair cross section of the scope and objectives of this important enterprise. The inventories of the county records are prefaced by sketches of the history of the respective counties, analyses of county government, and reports on the housing, care, and accessibility of the records. Some of these reports seem unusually thorough: for example, the reports of the

Essex County, Massachusetts, records, of the towns of Mt. Desert Island, Maine, of the North Carolina counties, and of Marion County, Indiana. In general, they are more detailed and thorough than the older A.H.A. studies. Some of the special summaries are in the nature of genuine contributions, as, for example, Lester J. Cappon's account of the evolution of Virginia county government included in the Chesterfield County volume.

Of greatest importance is the information contained in these reports relating to the physical condition of the archives. Time after time the ravages of fires at county seats have cheated historians of important and necessary sources. The wanton destruction of archives in such states as Virginia and South Carolina by the British during the Revolution and by the Union forces in the course of the Civil War is well known. In the Albany fire of 1911 some of the greatest archival treasures for the colonial period were lost. As a result of the Logan County, Illinois, fire of 1857 we cannot make a documentary study of Lincoln's law practice. But even present physical conditions in some areas are far from ideal. In Abbeville County, South Carolina, for example, records were found "in a dark basement room, the floor of which was covered with pools of oil from a leaking barrel". In the Tennessee counties, in Trumbull and Brown counties, Ohio, at Elkton, Maryland, and in Oregon and Oklahoma evidences of physical neglect are disturbing. But by and large the physical housing and care of our county archives are immeasurably superior to standards prevailing at the time of the A.H.A. survey. Where central facilities are available for county records, as at Hartford, Annapolis, Richmond, and Raleigh, greater assurance of proper custody and availability for historical research is afforded than in a state such as New York, where there is no plan of centralization, and which, considering its wealth, is conspicuously deficient in its care of local records.

The present group of inventories, while largely lacking in interest to a student of colonial and Revolutionary history, offers much valuable information for research workers in the history of trans-Appalachian expansion and of the settlement of the Far West. Interesting historical opportunities are suggested for such areas as Monroe, Pendleton, and Randolph counties, West Virginia; Washington and Scioto counties, Ohio; Cole and Pike counties, Missouri (in the latter, material antedates by a few years the admission of Missouri to statehood); Laramie County, Wyoming, which experienced a meteoric rise and fall during the building of the Union Pacific and again in the Black Hills gold rush; Mayes and Muskogee counties, Oklahoma, areas assigned by the government to the Cherokees and the Creeks in 1828; Bernalillo County, New Mexico, and Pima County, Arizona, whose records go back to the period shortly after the Gadsden Purchase; and Marin County, California. Sociologists should certainly find the records of the district court of Washoe County (Reno) very illuminating, though exceptional. Note-

worthy in this series are the inventories dealing with records antedating the formation of the Republic of Texas, of which that of the municipality of Brazoria has been published, including a valuable calendar of the court docket.

As only a small portion of the publication program has been completed, certain observations are submitted by way of constructive criticism. The rate of production of these inventories seems unwarrantably slow. Inventories covering some two hundred counties are now at hand, and since actual publication was begun two years ago with a maximum capacity staff, simple arithmetic will show that the present rate of production will require thirty years for completion. If funds and staff are reduced in the near future, an eventuality not unreasonable to anticipate, even a more formidable protraction is to be feared. A careful examination of these inventories, supplemented by visits by the reviewer during the past few years to a very large number of county seats from Maine to Georgia, has resulted in the following recommendations for accelerating production without real loss of the major objective: (1) Compress future county inventories through the use of symbols and abbreviations and by consolidating serials where feasible. The bulkiness of the present material actually obviates its ready use by students. For the state of New York alone fifty-seven volumes are scheduled to appear, not including the inventories of state, town, and village records or of the five counties of New York City. The inventory of New Haven County is to contain ten volumes, of which only one, dealing with more recent material, has appeared. The two North Carolina volumes so far published, comprising inventories of sixty-nine counties, should serve as a model for studies in other states. (2) Reduce the detailed explanatory and historical prefatory matter which, while useful, is not strictly essential, contains much duplication, and contributes materially to delay in publication. (3) Concentrate strictly upon the original purpose of the project—the survey of state and local records—and eschew attractive but time-consuming sidelines, such as vital records studies, church inventories, of which five from widely scattered areas are included in the present group of reports, surveys of religious congregations, ambitious historical bibliographies, state-by-state check lists of American imprints, random surveys of material in historical societies which should be performed by the societies themselves, studies of county formations and boundary changes, and calendars and transcriptions of personal papers. All of these projects have a definite value but should be subordinated to the major task at hand. (4) Give precedence in publication to the inventories of the older counties, so that in the event that the project is soon terminated a more consistent chronological pattern will be available. For New Jersey, Maryland, and Virginia, where there are outstanding collections of colonial county records, a modification of the present publication program along this line is badly needed. No publication for the first-named state is included

in the present group of inventories. For Maryland inventories have appeared for three counties, all late in settlement, whereas Mr. Scisco's published inventories of the county court records for that state should have served as a nucleus for the completed inventory of the great tidewater collections. No tidewater material has been published for Virginia, and, although in many cases its judicial and land records have been assembled at Richmond, only one county has been included in this collection. (5) Discontinue all calendaring projects, owing not alone to the time required but also to the limited training and background of the average project worker. An Amite County, Mississippi, court item is described as "showing *style* of case"! An item in the calendar of the Essex and Old Norfolk, Massachusetts, miscellaneous manuscripts describes a paper as a "Request to the court of sessions by John Woodbridge for authorization to reduce his servant's wages", whereas in reality it is a petition to postpone a trial of his servant for fornication. (6) Utilize inventories already prepared, in many cases along lines parallel to those of the H.R.S., as local county records projects.

The completion of the inventory will be a great boon to historical scholarship in this country. A fragmentary performance will be all but worthless. It is in this spirit that these criticisms have been offered, for the historical profession will be forever indebted to Dr. Luther Evans and his associates in this enterprise for unearthing many valuable records, saving many others from destruction and disintegration, and inspiring throughout the land a vigilant attitude toward the custody of our local archives.

The City College, New York.

RICHARD B. MORRIS.

The History of Public Welfare in New York State, 1609-1866. By DAVID M. SCHNEIDER, Director, Bureau of Research and Statistics, New York State Department of Social Welfare. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1938. Pp. xix, 395. \$3.00.)

DR. SCHNEIDER has done a thoroughly scholarly and much needed job which hitherto has baffled the social scientists and administrators in all our states in dealing with the complex, inconsistent, and usually ineffective systems of public poor relief found everywhere. He has produced for New York State the best of the state monographs thus far published in the University of Chicago Social Service series. But this book is only for the period ending with the Civil War and whets our appetite for the promised second volume covering the years 1867-1938. The other states covered in the series—Illinois, Massachusetts, Indiana, Michigan, Ohio, Kansas, and Montana—are all brought down to recent years.

There is not so much that is new in the story of the development of congregational relief among the Dutch settlers or of the local parish relief of the early English period, which lasted down to the early years of the nineteenth century and was gradually transformed into a civil function with

varying degrees of town, county, state, and even federal co-operation and responsibility. Most students will be surprised, however, at the wealth of documentation and the skillful citation of local records of actual administration of public relief measures that go far to explain a wide range of experimentation, some of it anticipating similar action in England, and to account for the cyclical trends in outdoor and indoor relief, in the relations of public and private charities, and in emergency measures to meet the special needs of war and postwar periods, economic depressions, and rapid social changes.

It is a slow process at best to achieve a just law of "settlement" and to define jurisdictional areas of concern and responsibility for social welfare in general and for the indigent in particular. What is so often called the patchwork of public poor relief Dr. Schneider relegates chiefly to what he calls "The Patchwork of Provincial Relief", the title of an interesting chapter, well summarized on page 87. After that there is slow but steady progress through the Revolutionary period and then under the new state constitution.

From 1817 to 1867, when a state supervisory board of public charities was finally written into law, after many investigating committees had made recommendations to that effect, the legislature debated and experimented with ways and means of giving state or county aid to localities, without weakening local initiative or breeding political corruption and extravagance, in order to bring about reasonable uniformity in achievement of the higher humane ideals of the advanced sections of the state. The record that Dr. Schneider reveals with admirable lucidity and illustration reflects no discredit on the state if it does not at all times fill us with pride. Such chapters as the two on "Public Welfare in Emergency Periods" and that on "Delinquent, Neglected and Dependent Children" should have a special interest for those engaged today in perfecting relief measures whose foundations were laid from fifty to one hundred years ago.

The bibliographical references at the end of each of the eighteen chapters give a complete list of the more important official sources and a fairly judicious selection of private sources of information on the topics treated.

Columbia University.

SAMUEL McCUNE LINDSAY.

Indian Treaties printed by Benjamin Franklin, 1736-1762. With an Introduction by CARL VAN DOREN, and Historical & Bibliographical Notes by JULIAN P. BOYD. (Philadelphia: Historical Society of Pennsylvania. 1938. Pp. lxxviii, 340. \$15.00.)

MESSRS. Van Doren and Boyd and their collaborators have combined to produce a handsome folio volume which does honor to themselves and to the memory of the most eminent of Philadelphians. No admirer of the American Indian, no collector of Americana or of Frankliniana can afford to pass it by. Mr. Van Doren has written a notable tribute to Franklin, to the savage statesmen, and to the literary qualities of the Indian treaties,

while Mr. Boyd's "Bibliographical Notes" should be required reading for bibliographers.

The historian will focus his attention upon the treaties themselves and upon Mr. Boyd's introduction on "Indian Affairs in Pennsylvania, 1736-1762". Together these must lead to a more careful analysis of the realities of the westward movement, of the Indian trade, of Anglo-French imperial rivalry, and of frontier diplomacy in the mid-eighteenth century and to a reevaluation of the determinant forces in these interlocking aspects of colonial history.

Despite Justin Winsor, Charles A. Hanna, and more recent writers, a handful of coins of base metal, all minted in good faith by the brilliant Parkman, continue to pass current among historians. Pennsylvania, at least to the end of King George's War, is commonly viewed as protected from the French and their Indians by mountains, forests, and the Iroquois and therefore unconcerned with the imperial aspects of Indian diplomacy. It is too often assumed that the French claims to the upper Ohio valley prior to 1749 were superior to the British and that Céleron de Bienville's purpose was to drive out newly come British interlopers. Insufficient research has led to unjust condemnation of the Indian policy of the younger Penns. Most important of all, a failure to study the Pennsylvania documents has resulted in the erroneous conclusion that there was only one door from the British colonies to the Iroquois country: Albany.

Mr. Boyd challenges or definitely disproves every one of these orthodox views, and the thirteen treaties which are here reproduced in facsimile bear him out. His greatest contribution is on the last point. Contending that "during the middle of the period [1736-62], no British colony in America had more influence over the Iroquois or more friendly relations with them than Pennsylvania" (p. xxii), he chronicles the rise of that influence through the treaties of 1732, 1736, and 1742 to the great treaty at Lancaster in 1744, after which "the center of Indian influence had shifted from New York to Pennsylvania" (p. xli). There followed a quick decline of Pennsylvania's power, which coincided with the rise of Sir William Johnson. The end came with the 1762 treaty when the Six Nations reminded Governor Hamilton that all communication with the Great Council must be through either the Senecas or the Mohawks (p. 280).

This whole development is seen by Mr. Boyd largely in terms of the personalities of the Indian and British leaders. But the frontier diplomacy of the eighteenth century cannot be fully understood without careful consideration of the fur trade. The attempts of Canadians, New Yorkers, and Pennsylvanians to trade directly with the tribes of the Ohio valley were successive threats to the economic and political position of the Iroquois. It is unfortunate that Mr. Boyd does not lay more emphasis on the importance of these efforts in determining the shifting relations of the confederacy with

the white men. Perhaps more regrettable is the failure to do justice to the role which the Shawnee played in the evolution of Pennsylvania's Indian policy.

Questions of interpretation should not be allowed to obscure the real significance of this book. The thirteen treaties and Mr. Boyd's introduction to them have gone a long way toward filling the void he mentions when he says (p. lxxxviii) that "Pennsylvania does not even have such a summary of Indian affairs and Indian policy" as Professor McIlwain furnishes for New York in the introduction to his edition of Wraxall's *Abridgement*. Let us hope that others will be inspired to complete Mr. Boyd's work by placing the Indian relations of Pennsylvania in their entirety in a true light.

The useful end-paper maps by Margaret Van Doren are unhappily marred by impressionistic and inaccurate representation of the mountains. This and a misspelling of Professor Labaree's name (p. xx) are the most noticeable of the very few mistakes in a volume of unusually excellent workmanship.

Williams College.

JOSEPH E. JOHNSON.

Our First Great West: In Revolutionary War, Diplomacy, and Politics (how it was won in War and Politics under Virginia's Lead and under John Jay's in Diplomacy). By TEMPLE BODLEY. (Louisville: Filson Club. 1938. Pp. iv, 321. \$6.00.)

THIS is a provocative book which will not be disregarded by students of the period which it covers. The theme of the volume, bracketed by the dates 1763-83, stems from other studies by the author, notably his *George Rogers Clark* (1926) and his *History of Kentucky before the Louisiana Purchase* (1928). Although some attention is paid to the military aspects of the Revolution in the West, which Mr. Bodley covered in greater detail in the works mentioned, the emphasis is mainly on the political aspects of the Western land companies, the cession to Congress of the land claims of the states, and the diplomacy of the Revolution as it affected the West. With respect to these subjects the author has reached some conclusions which will provoke dissent on the part of a good many scholars.

The author's interpretation of the pre-Revolutionary land policy of Great Britain is commendable. His discussion of the issues connected with the cession of Western lands to Congress is also acceptable, though his language is a bit strong with regard to the motives of states other than Virginia. The New York cession of 1781 receives a particularly sound treatment. The passages relating to the Vandalia and Indiana land companies would have benefited by the use of Thomas P. Abernethy's *Western Lands and the American Revolution* (1937). The reviewer has not read before so strong a denunciation by a modern writer of the antislavery clause in the Northwest Ordinance—Mr. Bodley characterizes it as "stupid".

It is in connection with the diplomacy of the Revolution that the author has been most forthright in his interpretations. He has vigorously espoused, for example, the view that it was largely due to Jay's astuteness that the Mississippi River became the western boundary of the United States. Franklin is dismissed as too senile to serve as a competent negotiator. Mr. Bodley's contention that Shelburne did not agree to the relinquishment of the West as a gesture of good will but that, on the contrary, he contended to the last that the Illinois country should be held by Great Britain as a means of compensating the loyalists is derived from confidential correspondence in the Shelburne Papers.

The book is equipped with three serviceable maps, an appendix, which contains the text of the "Six Nations Deed for Traders", dated November 3, 1768, and a usable index. There are a number of proofreader's slips.

The Department of State.

CLARENCE E. CARTER.

La question de la monnaie d'argent aux États-Unis des origines à 1900. Par JEAN PAUL HÜTTER. [Collection d'études économiques.] (New York: G. E. Stechert and Company; Paris: Les Éditions des Presses Modernes. 1938. Pp. 493. \$2.50.)

L'incidence économique de la frappe de monnaie d'argent aux États-Unis de 1878 à 1893: Interprétations contemporaines et essai d'évaluation quantitative. Par JEAN PAUL HÜTTER. [Collection d'études économiques.] (*Ibid.* Pp. 82. 70 cents.)

THE author of these volumes has been animated by a vigorous spirit of healthy skepticism, with happy results. The longer volume treats of the silver issue as a political and social phenomenon—of the origin of the United States monetary system, the entrance of the monetary question into postwar politics, the silver movement leading to the Bland-Allison Act, the fifteen years of "prosperity" [quotation marks are mine] between 1878 and 1893, the threat to the dollar in 1893, the election of 1896, and the Gold Standard Act of 1900. The discussion of these developments may interest more French than American readers, inasmuch as the material is more familiar to the latter.

Less familiar are the conclusions reached in the second and smaller study. It explores contemporary opinion as to the effects of the silver emissions, the stages of those emissions, the influence of silver purchases upon the mining industry and upon the balance of payments, the effect of silver issues upon monetary stock, and the relations between the latter and the volume of production and the movement of prices. Five tables and six diagrams with explanatory notes set forth the statistical framework upon which Mr. Hüter hangs his conclusions. Each study carries a pertinent bibliography, and the longer one is indexed.

The author stresses angles ordinarily ignored by politicians and fre-

quently neglected by historians. His strictures seem to this reviewer admirably impartial. Opponents of the silverites did not want contraction. They knew (whether or not they admitted it) that theirs was an age of expanding production and increasing population, necessitating monetary expansion to avoid deflation. But they differed over who should be aggrandized through the medium adopted for monetary expansion: the bankers wanted newly profitable facilities for note issue; the silver producers wanted the subsidy routed in their direction. In either case the Treasury would have the onus of gold coverage.

The silverites won, and the volume of money was expanded from 1881 to 1898 chiefly (about 94 per cent) through emissions of silver-backed paper and silver coins. Monetary expansion grew faster than the population but more slowly than the national economy. It somewhat retarded the fall of prices determined by the domestic market but was less able to modify the fall of prices determined by the world market. It was more successful with products of intensive than with those of extensive cultivation, thus achieving an average level for agricultural prices (1879-1900) near 100, which bettered both the general price level and the industrial level.

Significant contradictions are stressed. Growers of corn and grain, to whom much of the silver argument was directed, suffered from silver expansion because they had to sell their products at uncushioned foreign prices and buy in the cushioned domestic market. Silver purchases diminished the trade balance by diverting some potential exports to idle domestic vaults. The price fall, however, was not entirely disadvantageous. Contrary to silverite assertions, wages rose faster than retail prices, and as interest rates fell the debtors acquired an advantage over their creditors and were saved from property sacrifice. Deflation emerged as an effect, not a cause, of depression. The author judges that the only periods between 1879 and 1900 which fit the economic assertions of the silverites are 1884-85 and 1893-95; for the rest of that epoch he finds that the United States was growing considerably richer and was the most attractive field for European capital and labor.

Opponents of silver were wrong in their claim that bank paper was expanding so that other emissions were unneeded. The silverites were wrong in claiming that repeal of the Sherman law would ruin the Rocky Mountain states. After the Colorado "lockout" closing—a theatrical gesture of 1893, according to the author—the rich mines reopened, and capital and labor shifted into other fields. If there had been no subsidy, states Hütter, the silver industry would have slowed down, and there would have been some decrease in the gold and lead output, with a retarding of the mountain economy, but only Nevada would have been very greatly affected.

While there is some room for interpretations differing from those of Mr. Hütter, his candid views contribute to, rather than detract from, the

stimulating effect of his exposition. Such errors as the dating of resumption in June rather than January, 1879, the listing of Dana Horton as a "member" of the commission of 1878, and the failure to weigh well the importance of Cleveland's statement in February, 1893, do not count greatly against a treatment of the problem which shows both considerable understanding of the wellsprings of American propaganda and consistent unwillingness to accept without proof the familiar assertions of either the silverites or their opponents.

Swarthmore, Pennsylvania.

JEANNETTE PADDOCK NICHOLS.

The Genesis of Western Culture: The Upper Ohio Valley, 1800-1825. By JAMES M. MILLER. [Ohio Historical Collections.] (Columbus: Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society. 1938. Pp. xi, 194. \$2.00.)

IN the region covered by this study four main cultural areas are treated: the Pittsburg, Marietta, Cincinnati, and Lexington. The first chapter deals with the material—settlements, cultural groups, influences of Indian, trader, and communications. The importance of four institutions—the tavern, the church, the school, and the county court—is pointed out. Chapter II discusses Western character and types—minister, lawyer, physician, teacher, and editor. The last chapter deals with the product—school and college, church, societies, clubs, music, art, libraries, etc.

In his study of culture, "the permanent contributions of a social group to the intellectual and moral life of that group", Dr. Miller penetrates deeply enough to realize that despite the abundance of materials it is impossible to combine enough detail and breadth to present any final and absolute estimate. He is satisfied to describe and characterize some of the main forces rather than the culture itself, which, the further it is pursued, the more likely it is to become "a fantastic thing on a distant horizon". Such modesty in aim, which comes when the student reaches the state of salutary confusion, is in itself no mean indicator of the quality of the historian.

The author has covered the materials well—the travels, court and church records, and newspapers as well as monographic and other special works. The text is impregnated with many well-chosen source extracts and contains an abundance of meaningful sentences, some of which one rereads merely for pleasure. One might differ with the emphasis placed upon the Presbyterian influence and again with the author's conclusion that the development of culture in the West rests upon the lives of a comparatively few men. True, it was a period in which "the worth of the individual man strongly asserted itself", and there were "giants in those days". Nevertheless, only a small part of the iceberg is visible. Leaders were probably more conspicuous, at least to us, because of the lack of articulateness (and hence of materials) on the part of the masses. But after all, then as now, the leaders only guided and directed forces already there and much bigger than they were. Further

sampling of the lesser documents and study of superstitions, folklore, attitudes, practices (material as well as more narrowly cultural), and culture traits in general might lead to modification of this view.

The bibliography is adequate, and the index is amply so. The book and the editing conform to the very excellent pattern of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society *Collections*, edited by Dr. Harlow Lindley. Dr. Miller and the society are to be congratulated. There will soon be no excuse for colleges, even though they are without collections of source materials, presenting mere textbook courses in mid-west history and literature.

Indiana University.

R. CARLYLE BULEY.

The Jesuits of the Middle United States. By GILBERT J. GARRAGHAN, Loyola University, Chicago. Three volumes. (New York: America Press. 1938. Pp. xi, 660; iv, 699; v, 666. \$15.00.)

In the latter years of the nineteenth century and the early years of the twentieth Dr. R. G. Thwaites gathered and republished the *Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents* in seventy-three volumes. These told of the Jesuit missions in Canada and the Great Lakes country during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Father Garraghan, in the volumes before us, has continued the story, with a hiatus for the later eighteenth century, for one part of the early Jesuits' country. Leaving aside New York (Iroquois land) and Ontario (Huronian), the author has taken up the tale of the missions of his order in what was the Old Northwest and the Trans-Mississippi to the Rocky Mountains, with an offshoot in California.

The chief difference between the *Jesuit Relations* and the *Jesuits of the Middle United States* is not in the missionaries themselves but in the people for whom their missions were held. By the early nineteenth century the region was populated by immigrants, chiefly of Anglo-Saxon origin and Protestant in tradition. When immigrants from other European countries began settling in these regions, the work of the Jesuits grew apace. The author has divided his study into six parts, of which Part IV, "The Indian Missions", is most familiar as a field of Jesuit endeavor. When the federal government began its policy of removal of the Indians, in the decade of the thirties, their "black robe" fathers went with them and established new missions in the Trans-Mississippi, finally, under the well-known De Smet, carrying the gospel to the distant Flatheads, Nez Percés, and Blackfeet of the Rocky Mountains.

It is a story replete with interest and heroic endeavor. Wherever possible Father Garraghan has tied up his account with the earlier missionary adventurers, telling of Marquette, Allouez, Gravier, Pinet, and Binneteau (in the study of whose activities he is an authority) as the predecessors of Fathers Petit, Van Quickenborne, Verhagen, Hoecken, and others who sacrificed and toiled for the modern Indian missions. Father Garraghan

allows many of his fellow missionaries to tell their own stories in their letters and reports. To find these he has searched the archives of Rome, Belgium, whence many of the first Jesuits of this region came, Switzerland, Turin, and Germany. In America there was material in Baltimore, Montreal, St. Louis, Milwaukee, and Kansas, as well as in the United States government depositories in Washington. Part V deals with education and describes St. Louis University, Marquette University at Milwaukee, St. Xavier College at Cincinnati, and St. Ignatius at Chicago, as well as several later institutions in Kentucky, Detroit, Prairie du Chien, Wisconsin, Cleveland, and Toledo.

The whole is a work of great erudition and thoroughness, and it will remain, like the *Jesuit Relations*, a standard book of reference for all future studies of religious progress in the Middle United States. Maps prepared by the author, or under his direction, add to the understanding of the narrative. A good bibliography and a fine index complete these workmanlike volumes.

The State Historical Society of Wisconsin. LOUISE PHELPS KELLOGG.

Winning Oregon: A Study of an Expansionist Movement. By MELVIN CLAY JACOBS. (Caldwell: Caxton Printers. 1938. Pp. 261. \$3.00.)

THIS book is a valuable contribution to an understanding of the American occupation of Oregon. Its chief weakness is its effort to prove that Oregon was won by the pioneers. Such a thesis is not tenable. Oregon was already won before the emigration movement began. Had the author not neglected the literature of diplomacy, he would have understood this fact. Studies of the diplomatic controversy have shown that the government of the United States was never willing to concede any territory south of the 49th parallel; that by the time the large-scale movement of Americans into Oregon began in 1843 the British government had decided to yield the territory south of that line; that the Hudson's Bay Company had as early as 1829 abandoned hope of holding on to territory south of that parallel; that the only region in dispute after 1824 was that between the Columbia River and the 49th line; and that the Americans who reached Oregon before 1845 settled in the Willamette Valley, a region conceded by Great Britain by 1824. Dr. Jacobs does a good service in rejecting the "Whitman saved Oregon" myth. In seeking to minimize the missionary influence he swings to another extreme in his view that Oregon was saved by the pioneers. Oregon was never lost, never in danger, never in need of the kind of salvation implied in this book. The most that can be claimed for the pioneer influence is that it hastened the boundary settlement of 1846.

The Hudson's Bay Company is listed among the obstructions to American settlement. On the contrary, it was not a hindrance but a distinctive help to settlement, as the record amply shows. The company's well-filled

stores from which needed supplies could be secured on credit by the Americans on arrival at their destination relieved distress and suffering. The "Oregon Fever" is listed among the motives for the Oregon migration. In fact the "fever" was the obsession to set out for Oregon, and in explaining its origin the motives for migration are explained.

This book contains a wealth of apt quotations from contemporary accounts, chiefly newspapers, that well illustrate public opinion throughout the Union concerning the Oregon question. Text and footnotes abound in evidence that the spirit of manifest destiny moved the hearts of the editorial scribes of that day whenever they wrote about Oregon.

A few errors of fact may be noted: J. Quinn Thornton never left Oregon to become governor of California (p. 212); the Puget Sound Agricultural Company raised cattle and sheep and exported hides, horns, and wool, not wheat or flour (p. 239); David Thompson reached the Columbia in 1807, two years after and not two years before Lewis and Clark, as stated in a quotation (p. 242) without correction. There are many unexplained omissions of important works from the bibliography. J. C. Bell in his *Opening a Highway to the Pacific* (1921) covers much the same ground as this book and would have been helpful to an understanding of the "Oregon Fever". The regional histories, like those of Carey and Clark, seem to have been overlooked—at least the documentary appendix to the latter.

University of Oregon.

R. C. CLARK.

Tocqueville and Beaumont in America. By GEORGE WILSON PIERSON, Davenport College in Yale University. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1938. Pp. xiv, 852. \$7.50.)

ALTHOUGH Alexis de Tocqueville's extraordinarily penetrating analysis of political and social forces in the United States of a century ago has been the subject of numerous translations and critical commentaries, little attention has been paid to the circumstances under which Tocqueville and Beaumont made their fateful trip to America or to the incidents of the journey. This task Professor Pierson has now done in a brilliant book, combining biographical detail with a study of the alert visitors' progressive comprehension of political, social, and religious trends in American thought and putting it all in the setting of one of the most fascinating narratives of travel that ever came from the press. Gustave de Beaumont, less gifted intellectually than his companion but no less enthusiastic, furnished interesting sketches of the journey (many of which Professor Pierson reproduces from the Beaumont Album) and out of his experiences produced in 1835 a novel on the race problem entitled *Marie, ou l'esclavage aux États-Unis*. Tocqueville, on the other hand, confined himself in his published works to the more serious aspects of America's experiment in democracy, though in his many letters to family and friends in France (of which Professor Pierson makes

ample use) he describes with great charm the exciting incidents of the journey in river travel, wanderings in the wilderness, encounters with the Indians, and the rude hospitality of frontier hosts.

The ostensible cause of the visit of Tocqueville and Beaumont was a commission from the minister of justice in the new government of Louis Philippe, in which they both held subordinate judicial positions, to investigate and report upon the prison systems in the United States. But, though Tocqueville faithfully carried out his instruction, he conceived his real mission to be a much more comprehensive one than the examination of the methods of punishment and correction of prisoners. A few weeks before sailing (April, 1831), he wrote: "We are leaving with the intention of examining in detail and as scientifically as possible all the mechanism of that vast American society which everyone talks of and nobody knows. And if events leave us the time, we are counting on bringing back the elements of a fine work, or at the very least a new work; for there is nothing on this subject".

How diligently Tocqueville pursued his project is shown by the ample record of conversations, letters, visits, diary notes, printed pamphlets, and statistical researches reported in Professor Pierson's pages. His interest was philosophical and sociological, not political and economic. He wanted to go beneath the current controversies to get at the great constructive and unifying ideas which inspired Whig and Democrat alike. And he found the master idea in the continuous progress of equality, which, though an aristocrat himself and attached by family tradition to the Bourbon cause in France, he saw inevitably spreading to all the civilized nations of the world—not to his unqualified satisfaction.

As an aristocrat Tocqueville weighed the dangers to France of that equality in station and manners which he found so wholesome for America. As a Catholic he marveled at the successful coexistence of a "pure morality" with unlimited confessional diversity in the new world. As an enemy of Guizot's slogan, *enriches-vous*, for the bourgeois monarchy just launched in France, he was amazed at the apparent success of a democracy in which the mad race for riches had not obliterated the nobler ideals of the fathers of the republic. His mind was filled with antinomies and paradoxes; he questioned, argued, and pondered to reduce them to a logical consistency. And the more he questioned, argued, and pondered, the more earnestly he sought for a philosophy of democracy which would synthesize and reconcile the conflicting data that he had so laboriously amassed. By continuing his story of Tocqueville (for Beaumont fades from the picture) after his return to France Professor Pierson describes for us the four-year period of incubation which resulted in the epoch-making *De la démocratie en Amérique*.

Columbia University.

DAVID S. MUZZEY.

The Whig Myth of James Fenimore Cooper. By DOROTHY WAPLES, Lawrence College. [Yale Studies in English.] (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1938. Pp. viii, 318. \$2.75.)

THIS book, as the author explains, "tells the neglected story of Cooper's association with the Democratic party, and of revenges taken upon the novelist by the offended Whigs, revenges which later generations have misinterpreted and which . . . have produced . . . misunderstandings" (p. vi). Cooper, Dr. Waples would have us believe, was persecuted as a traitor to his class—a man of means and breeding, sired by a respected Federalist and subjected to humiliating abuse mainly because he became a member of the hated Democratic party. The Whigs were aristocrats, or at least the bulk of the aristocrats were Whigs; the Democrats were "agrarians and levellers". As Bryant's son-in-law asked, how could "a gentleman of education and refinement, impelled by no craving for office and leadership . . . take the side of an unkempt and unwashed multitude"? As a fit punishment for such apostasy the Whig journalists poured out their ire on the unhappy Cooper, and "with complete irrelevance to the facts, America began to weave about this man the myth of the self-centered, hypersensitive pretender to Scott's laurels" (p. 115).

The author has unearthed an abundance of evidence to prove that the Whig writers had small use for Cooper and did their best to discredit him. Cooper was, in fact, a Jackson man who did not fail to show his colors. "Politics", Dr. Waples tells us, "not literature, is the recurrent theme of his correspondence" (p. 14). Nor, it might be added, did he make any effort to keep his political opinions out of his literary works. During his long absence abroad and after his return to New York in 1833 he became an easy target for partisan and unscrupulous reviewers. After reading this book there is no reason whatever for anyone to doubt that the Whig journalists did whatever damage they could to Cooper's reputation.

It is difficult to believe, however, that Cooper's political opinions were alone responsible for the various adverse judgments that later generations no less than his contemporaries have passed upon him. Not only from his reviewers but also from his writings we can find a clear record of his disappointment with the America to which he returned and of his willingness to scold it. Even before he left Europe he had written: "One fact is beyond dispute—I am not with my own country—the void between us is immense—which is in advance time will show" (p. 89). Americans, whether Whigs or Democrats, were as thin-skinned as Cooper himself. If Cooper would not like them, they would not like him; and his endless wranglings and libel suits, however right he may have been, did little to win back the public he had lost. The real Cooper, as Dr. Waples maintains, may have been genial and full of fun, facile in conversation and abounding in sympathy for his

fellow men, but his private character was not adequately supported by his public conduct.

The present study is based in considerable part upon the unpublished letters and manuscripts in the Cooper collection of the Yale University Library. The author has used also a long list of contemporary magazines and newspapers and has apparently read everything that Cooper's critics have ever had to say about him. Her research is painstakingly thorough, and her conclusions are not without merit, for the Whigs did villify Cooper. But the reader can scarcely escape the opinion that the author, in her zeal to clear Cooper's memory, has somewhat overshot the mark.

The University of Wisconsin.

JOHN D. HICKS.

The Life of John McLean: A Politician on the United States Supreme Court. By FRANCIS P. WEISENBURGER, The Ohio State University. [The Ohio State University Studies.] (Columbus: Ohio State University Press. 1937. Pp. ix, 244. \$2.25.)

Chief Justice Waite, Defender of the Public Interest. By BRUCE R. TRIMBLE, The University of Kansas City. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1938. Pp. ix, 320. \$4.00.)

Chief Justice Taft. By ALLEN E. RAGAN, Tusculum College. [Ohio Historical Collections.] (Columbus: Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society. 1938. Pp. ix, 139. \$2.00.)

Mr. Justice Holmes and the Supreme Court. By FELIX FRANKFURTER. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1938. Pp. 139. \$1.50.)

THESE four volumes represent additions to the growing list of studies of former members of the Supreme Court of the United States. None of them is an expansive, full-length biography of the type of Beveridge's *Life of John Marshall*. None attempts the comprehensiveness of the reviewer's studies of Chief Justice Taney and Mr. Justice Field. Nor are these four volumes closely comparable one with another. The biography of John McLean deals principally with the political activities of a man who was a member of the Supreme Court from 1829 to 1861. It is based largely on the McLean manuscripts in the Library of Congress. Since for the period of McLean's court membership these manuscripts have already been scanned by other historians and biographers, much of the hitherto unused material presented by the author is to be found in the chapters dealing with the pre-court period. There is value, however, in the subsequent unified portrayal of the varied political activities which lasted until the end of McLean's career, activities of a type which today would thoroughly discredit a member of the court. The author unfortunately makes no significant analysis of McLean's work as a judge and of his influence on American constitutional development.

The study of Chief Justice Waite is important in that it is the first

attempt to present at any considerable length the life of a judge who played a significant part in the development of the Constitution from 1874 to 1888. He aided in delimiting drastic legislation of the Reconstruction period, he brought the doctrine of "business affected with a public interest" into American constitutional law, and he aided in shaping the concept of "due process of law". The author had access to manuscript collections not hitherto available. The book, however, is written without the perspective of the mature scholar, and the best use of materials is not always made.

The value of the study of Chief Justice Taft lies chiefly in the fact that it brings together in one small volume the gist of a great many articles about Taft, along with a grouping of his court decisions into selected categories. The author did not have access to the Taft papers in the Library of Congress and was therefore unable to shed such light on his subject as has been shed by the authors of recent biographies of Calvin Coolidge and Elihu Root, who did have access to the Taft papers. The analysis of court decisions is lacking in deftness and in sufficient perspective to make it of much interest to the general reader. Pending the appearance of a more complete biography, however, the book has a measure of value.

The volume on Mr. Justice Holmes consists of three lectures which were prepared for delivery before an audience of laymen. It is not a biography but is an appraisal of the contribution of Holmes as a member of the Supreme Court. Unlike the other books herein discussed, it is brilliantly written, with a broad perspective derived from lifelong study of legal institutions. It is significant for its portrayal of Mr. Justice Holmes and perhaps even more significant for what it reveals of the author, Mr. Justice Frankfurter.

The Johns Hopkins University.

CARL BRENT SWISHER.

Lincoln and the Civil War in the Diaries and Letters of John Hay. Selected and with an Introduction by TYLER DENNETT. (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company. 1939. Pp. xii, 348. \$4.00.)

THE present volume is one of the most important books on Lincoln that have appeared in recent years. It is not that the Civil War diaries and letters of Lincoln's secretary have been hitherto unknown. They have been used in the Nicolay-Hay biography, in the editing of Lincoln's works, in Thayer's and Dennett's biographies of Hay (especially Dennett's), and by other writers. In 1908 this material was privately printed in part in a limited set of three ponderous volumes by the Hay family. The significance of the present volume is that the material, still in the possession of the family and known directly to very few persons, is now for the first time made available to the general reader. The old privately printed record, besides being rare, was exceedingly unsatisfactory. Not only were surname initials substituted for names (so that some writers depended upon a manuscript "key" to un-

lock the work), but numerous passages were omitted altogether, and those printed were at many points incorrect. It is significant that Henry Adams, whose assistance had been enlisted, withdrew from the enterprise before the printing. The text in the present work is, of course, taken from the original manuscript, except in a few cases where "the privately printed volumes are important because some of the original letters . . . have disappeared" (p. vii).

The diary is not regular and methodical. Its jottings are intermittent and scattered. What is lacking in completeness, however, is gained in flavor. The record is, like young Hay himself, sophisticated, full of literary sparkle, racy, opinionated, at times oversmart, and always colorful. In style it is urbane, debonair, saucy, playful, flippant to a degree, dotted with a scholar's foreign phrases, yet also redolent of Pike County. It is, of course, unique as a record of Lincoln, catching his casual talk, giving close-up vignettes of his offhand moments, registering some of his pithiest anecdotes at the source, revealing his messages, decisions, and letters in the making, and opening otherwise closed doors upon the harassed President's mental and emotional life. Since Lincoln had no Boswell (Herndon did not begin his biographical labors till after Lincoln's death), the Hay record finds its chief value in the preservation of fleeting pictures that would otherwise have been lost, pictures of Lincoln refusing to make "points of etiquette & personal dignity", reading Shakespeare to Hay, talking Shakespeare with Hackett, saving lives in court-martial reviews, receiving delegations, restraining his own impatience toward Meade after Gettysburg, listening to a regimental band, amusing himself with a Richmond editor's attack upon Jefferson Davis, and so on. For the men who passed before his eye the impish secretary had telling and often devastating thumbnail characterizations; if it was a pretty woman, the fact and degree of pulchritude were not likely to be omitted. Hay's prejudices colored his jottings, as they later swayed the ten-volume biography. For Republican enthusiasm there is no apology. "Haight is a good egg [wrote Hay, p. 41]. He votes straight Republican every time." Despite his scorn for the radicals, Hay shared their prejudice against McClellan, and his comments on that general are to be used with caution.

The Lincoln material in Hay's letters is not exhausted, for this edition ends with 1870; the volume, for example, does not include Hay's letter to Charles Eliot Norton of March 29, 1889, explaining how Lincoln's inaugural address was revised. In other words, the date of the letters, not the Lincoln content, is the basis of selection. There is apparently a high degree of accuracy in reproducing the text, though one wonders whether on November 11, 1861 (p. 34), Hay did not write "Blenker's Germans" instead of the meaningless "Bleaker's". In the footnotes and index of persons one notes the following slips. Caleb B. Smith was not "of Ohio" (p. 340). Other names,

for example those of Burnside, Joseph E. Johnston, and Murat Halstead, are erroneously given (pp. 330, 42, 107). Grant did not re-enter the army in 1861 "as brigadier general under Frémont" (p. 334). The post-Fredericksburg cabinet crisis occurred in December, 1862, not 1863 (p. 111); the battle of Gettysburg did not begin on July 2 (p. 66); Antietam was not fought on September 15 (p. 49); Chickamauga is not "near Nashville", and the retreat at that battle was not "toward Nashville" (p. 102); Sherman's "famous march" was not a "march . . . to Atlanta" (p. 128). To one familiar with the period, however, it is the Hay record that matters, while these defects are minor.

University of Illinois.

J. G. RANDALL.

Lee, Grant, and Sherman: A Study in Leadership in the 1864-65 Campaign.

By Lieut.-Colonel ALFRED H. BURNE. With an Introduction by Douglas Southall Freeman. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1939. Pp. xxiii, 216. \$3.00.)

IN this study Colonel Burne has considered the character of the leadership in the Civil War, both North and South, directing his attention particularly to the performances of Lee, Grant, and Sherman, with subsidiary comment on Hood's campaign into Tennessee and Early's campaign in the Shenandoah Valley. Lee's generalship in the Wilderness, on the retreat to Richmond, and in defense of Petersburg and Richmond excites the admiration of the author; Grant's tenacity and singleness of purpose are likewise praised. The leadership of Sherman and particularly that of Sheridan, on the contrary, receive little favorable comment.

It is interesting to find a proper evaluation and discussion of the important final campaigns in Tennessee and in the Shenandoah Valley, each of which came within sight of success, and each of which failed primarily for lack of sufficient power to push the thrust through. Early's success in the Shenandoah Valley was due to "his own boldness, activity, quick-wittedness, driving power and willingness to take risks" that produced results. In Sheridan's opposition the author finds little to admire and considers him a failure as "an independent army commander". Of Hood, for his conduct of the campaign into Tennessee, the author is fulsome in his praise. Hood as an independent commander was sound in his strategical conceptions, but his final defeat can be traced directly to his own faulty execution and to personal qualities of easily aroused stubbornness and pique and to irresolution at critical moments in the campaign, these characteristics being as much the result of physical incapacity from wounds as of any other cause. He was an energetic and daring leader in the heat of battle but less successful in the direction of an army in the field. To say that Hood is the "most maligned" of Southern generals is to overlook the reasons for the criticism

that has been his lot. He was defeated in every battle after he assumed the command of the Confederate Army of Tennessee, and his defeats can in large measure be attributed to his own defects of leadership.

Keeping in mind the foregoing, the discussion of the military leadership is generally constructive and fair. The distinct limitation of the book is that it is written without any reference to economic, social, and political conditions in the Confederacy. Relation of the discussion to contemporary military events and conditions elsewhere would have aided in an understanding of the value and significance of the events and leadership under consideration.

This is a book deserving of careful reading by anyone interested in the military history of the Civil War. It is marred, unfortunately, by far too many typographical errors and errors in names and dates. The footnotes, a compromise between full citation and none at all, leave much to be desired. Some statements that deserve citation have no reference of authority, as, for example, Captain Morris's statement (p. 89) regarding Johnston's failure at Cassville; in other cases the citation is incorrect, and occasionally the page number is omitted. There are a bibliographical note, an index, and twenty-five useful maps that enable the reader to follow the discussion in the text.

Port Washington, New York.

THOMAS ROBSON HAY.

Secession and Restoration of Louisiana. By WILLIE MALVIN CASKEY. With Foreword by Frank Lawrence Owsley. [Louisiana State University Studies, Number 36.] (University: Louisiana State University Press. 1938. Pp. xi, 318. \$3.50.)

THIS book will supplant John R. Ficklen's unfinished *Reconstruction in Louisiana*, published posthumously in 1910. Although he tells essentially the same story, Dr. Caskey has made good use of a much wider range of sources and related monographs than was available to Ficklen. Since he is concerned only with political developments he has had little to say about social and economic conditions, and he has ignored altogether that portion of the state which was under the control of the Confederates.

In the two chapters on the election of 1860 and secession the author shows that, contrary to a cherished Northern belief, a large majority of the voters favored secession by January, 1861, although more than half of them had voted for Bell or Douglas in the preceding November. The January contest was over the method, not the desirability, of secession. He thinks that Lincoln may have based his "ten per cent plan" upon the assumption that, since Douglas had received that proportion of the total state vote in the area later held by the Union armies, it represented the real Unionist strength. There certainly were Unionists in New Orleans, and after the capture of that city General B. F. Butler, by confiscations, imprisonments, and threats forced enough other persons to take the oath of allegiance to

establish a numerical basis for Lincoln's projected civil government. Strife began among the Unionists, however, over state emancipation, suffrage qualifications, and whether they should retain the constitution of 1852 or draft a new one. General Banks, who replaced Butler, had even more trouble with the rival groups, and it was not until March, 1864, that the radicals won their point, and a constitutional convention was called. (One wishes that Dr. Caskey could have thrown more light on Banks's personal political schemes.) After weeks of empty talk and profligate expenditures the convention produced a constitution that still restricted suffrage to the whites. Lincoln brought pressure to bear to get the new state government set up in time for the presidential election, but after this was done Congress refused it recognition.

After the war ended and the Confederates returned home, Johnson's amnesty policy and the inherent weakness of the local radicals placed the conservatives in control. The radicals, hoping to regain power through Negro suffrage, decided to exhume the defunct constitutional convention of 1864. The stench was too much for the excited populace and led to the so-called riot of July 30, 1866. The attempt to revive the convention was in fact a revolutionary movement, for its purpose was to overthrow the existing state government. The military, who had done nothing to prevent disorder, immediately placed the city under martial law and reduced the civil government to a shadow. Dr. Caskey regards this as marking the actual overthrow of the restoration program in Louisiana and closes his study at this point.

The book, on the whole, is an excellent presentation of the problems of restoration in Louisiana. But the inevitable slips occur: in proofreading, in a few confusing statements, in the occasional failure to identify the author or recipient of a letter or the date of a document. Map No. 1 erroneously shows Tensas Parish instead of Madison as carried by Bell in 1860. The last line of Lincoln's letter (page 96) is incorrectly quoted. The footnotes are ample and informative, but it is irritating to have to hunt them down in the back of the book. The bibliography is comprehensive, except that the Banks Papers in the Essex Institute at Salem, Massachusetts, are not mentioned. The book is beautifully printed and is a credit to the Louisiana State University Press. In the foreword Professor Owsley handsomely acknowledges the influence of the Dunning-Fleming tradition upon both himself and his disciple and indicates that one or two other volumes by Dr. Caskey are to follow. They will be welcome.

The University of Texas.

CHARLES W. RAMSDELL.

Flight into Oblivion. By A. J. HANNA. (Richmond: Johnson Publishing Company. 1938. Pp. xiii, 306. \$2.75.)

THE dispersion of the high civil officers of the Confederate States, upon

the collapse of the government in April-May, 1865, is the theme of this book. Whether their flight from the vengeance of the conquerors was, without reservations, a flight into oblivion is more of a moot question than the title implies. Though the flight wrote *finis* to the public service of Jefferson Davis, its aftermath secured to him a place in the hearts of the Southern people scarcely less affectionate and enduring than if he had been able to serve out his constitutional term and to turn over an established and world-respected government to his successor on February 22, 1868. Though it definitely changed the course of life for Benjamin, successive holder of three cabinet portfolios, it carried him into a foreign field where he carved out for himself more subsequent fame than is ordinarily the lot of American ex-cabinet members. Postmaster General Reagan achieved fully as distinguished a congressional career in the re-United States as he might reasonably have expected in a successful Confederacy. It is true, however, that most of Davis's advisers and aides did not enjoy so much of the spotlight in their later life.

The retreat of the Confederate government from Richmond to Danville, where some routine was resumed, thence to Charlotte, where routine was lost, is a fairly well-known story, as is also the frustrated attempt of the President to transfer the seat of civil government to the trans-Mississippi. But in the accounts of the romantic escapes of Secretary of State Benjamin, Secretary of War Breckinridge, and Attorney General Davis, Professor Hanna has rescued three corking good adventure stories from oblivion. He has pieced out his narratives from many sources and after wide researches and has written a very worthwhile book. Here and there, however, it is marred by awkward sentences, which mislead as to cause and effect and to true sequence of events, and by inaccurate side details which a fuller use of the materials cited in the bibliography should have prevented.

To mention a few inaccuracies, Attorney General Davis is referred to (p. 8) as having been "dominant in the Provisional Congress that created the Confederacy", whereas he did not enter the Congress until its third session, well after the government had become a going concern. Though Gustavus W. Smith resigned his Confederate commission when the war was about half over and entered the service of Georgia, he is referred to (p. 236) as holding "the rank of Major General in the Confederate Army throughout the War". John Taylor Wood, aide to the President, is said (p. 152) to have been a captain in the United States Navy for a decade before resigning to enter the Confederate States Navy. The highest rank held by him in the Old Navy was lieutenant. Though Wood had been twice promoted in the Confederate naval service for gallant and meritorious conduct and had received the thanks of Congress for his daring exploits, the author supposes (p. 152) that Breckinridge in May, 1865, did not know that Captain Wood was "one of the most skillful and resourceful navigators in

America", because he was "too modest to seek the recognition and promotion that his ability, courage, and energy amply justified". The commerce destroying activities of the regular naval establishment are misstated (pp. 136 and 243) as privateering operations, and the privateer *Jefferson Davis* is mistakenly alluded to (p. 97) as the blockade-runner *Jeff. Davis*. A map of the Confederate Trans-Mississippi Department (p. 73) shows the boundaries of the United States territory of Arizona instead of the entirely different Confederate territory. The sketch of "The 'Cabinet Car'" (on cover and p. 30) depicts a passenger car, though the text (p. 31) says it was "a dilapidated, leaky boxcar".

Norfolk Navy Yard.

WILLIAM M. ROBINSON, JR.

Armour and his Times. By HARPER LEECH and JOHN CHARLES CARROLL.
(New York: D. Appleton-Century Company. 1938. Pp. ix, 377. \$3.00.)

THIS is a success story in the fullest sense of the term. Here we have factual romance—the rise of a great financier through the development of an important business in the years of the Civil War and its aftermath. The authors have not separated their hero from other colorful figures in the Chicago of his day. George Horace Lorimer, Dr. Frank Gunsaulus, and Marshall Field, among others, flit across the pages. Chief attention, of course, is directed to Philip Armour, the founder of a great economic dynasty, whose selling short in the Wilderness Campaign made him a national financial power. A brief anecdotal postscript on the life of J. Ogden Armour is added to the chronicle of the activities of Philip's spectacular career. An introductory chapter on the changes which occurred in the techniques of meat packing during his lifetime is followed by a discussion of his early career to the beginnings of his fortune in Milwaukee. At this point there is a parenthetical discussion of the utilization of by-products in the packing industry which was so successfully carried forward by daring adventurers in the field of pork packing.

The meat packers of post-bellum America had to overcome public prejudice against their products, which was climaxed by the European embargoes against American meat in the eighties. They also had to face anti-trust activities. Labor difficulties were theirs, although scant attention, in view of their importance, is given them by the authors. Like the famous embalmed beef scandal, such problems of business management pale into insignificance in the light of a discussion of the personal characteristics of Armour.

Mr. Leech and Mr. Carroll fall into some of the traps which await biographers. Apparently they considered their hero in the light of twentieth century moral standards, and therefore they have occasionally blurred the picture of economic practices which were the rule, rather than the exception, among great American fortune builders in the days following the Civil

War. They have a tendency also to give credit to Armour for some developments which he probably shared with other packers, as in the use of the by-products in the animal industry.

Stylistically the book is interestingly done, aside from the fact that the succession of very brief paragraphs sometimes disconcerts the reader. Defects can be noted in the bibliographical offerings. According to the listing, original sources, including newspapers and manuscripts, were too little tapped, while books only remotely touching the theme appear in several instances. Despite this, a good story is told in an interesting way.

The University of Chicago.

BESSIE LOUISE PIERCE.

The Far Eastern Policy of the United States. By A. WHITNEY GRISWOLD, Yale University. [Institute of International Studies.] (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. 1938. Pp. 530. \$3.75.)

SINCE the publication of Tyler Dennett's *Americans in Eastern Asia* (1922), which brought the story down to 1901, there has been a real need for a similar treatment of the later years. This has been well supplied by Professor Griswold. Starting with "New Frontiers in Asia" (the acquisition of the Philippines), it ends with "The '24-Hour' Policy" of the present administration. The twenty-one chapters deal realistically with the Open Door, the adventures in diplomacy of Theodore Roosevelt, Dollar Diplomacy, the conferences of Versailles and Washington, immigration, and Colonel Stimson's "Quest for Collective Security". In the longer period covered by Dr. Dennett European diplomacy rarely entered the picture, but since 1898 it had great significance in the shaping and success of our Far Eastern policy.

In spite of the fact that the Department of State archives are closed for the period since 1906, Dr. Griswold has done a very fine piece of work. Leaning heavily, as he must, upon the materials in the United States *Foreign Relations*, down to 1922, he has made use of the printed foreign diplomatic papers, a large number of books and articles, and certain manuscript collections such as the Hippisley, Rockhill, Bryan, Knox, Lansing, and McKinley papers. The Roosevelt and Root papers had been worked over pretty thoroughly previously. The treatment, as would be expected, is most thorough for the period before 1906, quite adequate down to 1922, and sketchy from that time on. It is unfortunate, for example, that so much weight must be given to the Lytton Report and the ex parte pleading in Colonel Stimson's *The Far Eastern Crisis*, though Dr. Griswold does not follow the latter without reservation.

The treatment, on the whole, is refreshing in its frankness and its almost surgical cutting through verbiage to find the vital truth. Too many secondary accounts of American policy in the Far East have read like Department of State releases. Wherever he could, Dr. Griswold has pinned policies upon the formulators, who were rarely the notables whose names were given to

them. Some scholar in the future may be able to carry this important task on beyond the Dollar Diplomacy period. No one will agree completely with Dr. Griswold, but he at least has documented the reasons for his beliefs. At times a better knowledge of what was going on in Eastern Asia might have modified his conclusions, but, in the main, policy was determined in Washington and not always on the basis of sound reports. A few slips and errors will be noted by the informed reader, but they are rarely important. The practice of terming an "exchange of notes" an "Agreement", the oversimplification of the Twenty-One Demands, and the inaccurate version of the Shanghai hostilities of 1932 are examples.

For the period as a whole the one consistent policy of the United States after 1905 seems to have been to block the expansion of Japan on the Asiatic continent. The earlier Open Door and Integrity of China policies, which when enunciated scarcely had Japan in view, were later mobilized against her almost alone. Many Americans will be amazed at the length to which this policy was pursued, yet within the space limits Dr. Griswold could not develop all its manifestations—books have and will be written on the subject matter of his individual chapters. He makes it very clear, however, that Japan has suffered more from American intervention in Asia than the United States has suffered from Japanese intervention in the Americas. Only time can tell whether this was sound policy or not.

Stanford University.

PAYSON J. TREAT.

America goes to War. By CHARLES CALLAN TANSILL. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1938. Pp. x, 731. \$5.00.)

PROFESSOR Tansill's absorbing volume is the fullest and in many ways the most important study of American neutrality in the years 1914-17 that has yet appeared. He has drawn on the large mass of published documents, including those brought to light by the Nye Committee, has read widely in newspapers, and has used a wealth of unpublished manuscripts. Among these are the important papers of the Neutrality Board, some interesting materials in the German Foreign Office and Marine Archives, and the private papers of Bryan, House, Lansing, Andrew Carnegie, Joseph H. Choate, Claude H. Kitchin, Philander Chase Knox, Elihu Root, Henry White, John Sharp Williams, and others.

Although no student working in this field can neglect this able and well-documented study, it has some drawbacks for the general reader. Professor Tansill states that he has "no thesis to prove nor any viewpoint to exploit" (p. vii), but his treatment of the subject falls short of objectivity. It is clear that he has enlisted in the same camp with Hartley Grattan and Walter Millis, that he regards America's entry into the war both as a serious mistake and an avoidable one, and that he permits himself a good deal of personal devil hunting. In particular he pursues Secretary Lansing

and Colonel House with unrelenting ferocity. Although he finds plenty of targets in the period of the World War, Professor Tansill goes out of his way (p. 169) to toss a brickbat at John Hay, "who, as Secretary of State, did not hesitate to surrender American rights when British interests could be served". His treatment of Bryan goes to the other extreme, rightly praising his devotion to the cause of peace and his desire for an honest neutrality but failing to point out his obvious shortcomings, especially his ignorance of international law and his tendency to confuse things that were clearly distinguishable.

After briefly surveying the development of German-American antagonism prior to 1914 and analyzing American public opinion at the outbreak of the war, Professor Tansill devotes four chapters to the rise of our wartime trade and three chapters to our controversy with England over neutral rights to August, 1915, before taking up the crucial question of the submarine. It is doubtful if the average reader who peruses this topical treatment will be in as good a position to appraise the submarine controversy as if the book had been arranged more chronologically. In his important treatment of the armed merchantman Professor Tansill follows the same line taken by Professor Borchard but commits himself more deeply as to "might-have-beens". If President Wilson "had closed American harbors to belligerent merchant ships carrying *defensive* armament the British Government", so Professor Tansill roundly declares, "would have immediately removed all guns from their merchantmen, and Germany would no longer have sunk enemy passenger ships at sight" (p. 259). That may be so, but we have no means of proving it. There is much evidence in Admiral Spindler's monumental history of German submarine warfare that the U-boat commanders found it difficult if not impossible to distinguish between armed and unarmed merchantmen, and it seems to this reviewer more likely that regardless of what might have been done to keep armament off British merchantmen, German submarines would have continued to sink unarmed British vessels, as indeed they sank neutral vessels. One or two of the red herrings drawn by Professor Tansill across the trail of the U-boats might well have been omitted to make room for the observation that when the *Arabic* was sunk she was westward bound, from England to the United States, and that the fact that she had carried munitions on a previous eastward voyage was wholly irrelevant.

"The real reasons why America went to war", concludes Professor Tansill, "cannot be found in any single set of circumstances (p. 134). . . . Despite all the efforts of the Nye Committee, there is not the slightest evidence that during the Hundred Days that preceded America's entry into the World War the President gave any heed to demands from 'big business' that America intervene in order to save investments that were threatened by possible Allied defeat" (p. 657).

Williams College.

JAMES P. BAXTER, 3D.

NOTICES OF OTHER RECENT PUBLICATIONS

GENERAL HISTORY

Knowledge for What? The Place of Social Science in American Culture. By ROBERT S. LYND. (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1939, pp. x, 268, \$2.50.) It is pretty generally conceded that the problems of today have become so complex that only a well-informed body of social science can serve as a safe guide for understanding the present order or directing us toward the discovery of a new and better one. The great majority of social scientists, however, take the present social order for granted. They work within its fundamental folkways and cultural assumptions. They rarely regard it as a function of social science to criticize the existing order or to suggest a better one. They lay great stress upon research and contend that only the facts should talk. Yet when they discover the facts, they are all too prone to make the facts "shut up". Hence our fate is left to the political butchers and the economic propagandists. Professor Lynd, facing the impending collapse of Western civilization, has risked his professional scalp by writing one of the most timely and daring volumes which any academic sociologist has ventured in a generation. *Knowledge for What?* is a forthright demand for a more honest and realistic body of social science and for the application of its findings to the reconstruction of the present social order. It is the most devastating arraignment of "knowledge for its own sweet sake" since the publication of Thorstein Veblen's *Higher Learning in America*. Professor Lynd's treatment of history (chiefly on pp. 129 ff., 174 ff.) is in harmony with his general argument. He exposes the shallowness and irrelevance of political and episodic history and argues for the value of history as a working social science. His point of view is that of Robinson, Beard, and other exponents of the new history. It is intelligent and sound, but it is to be regretted that Professor Lynd seems to have ignored the more relevant literature in this field with which he could have buttressed his argument.

HARRY ELMER BARNES.

The Meaning of the Humanities: Five Essays. By RALPH BARTON PERRY, AUGUST CHARLES KREY, ERWIN PANOFSKY, ROBERT LOWRY CALHOUN, GILBERT CHINARD. With a Preface by Robert Kilburn Root. Edited with an Introduction by Theodore Meyer Greene. (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1938, pp. xxxix, 178, \$2.50.) The word "humanism" and its derivatives have meant so many different things that any attempt to clarify them should be welcome. In a series of lectures delivered at Princeton five eminent authorities expounded the relation of the humanities to philosophy, history, art, theology, and literature. As no brief criticism of so various and challenging a work could be adequate, specific comment on a few points seems preferable to an equitably divided encomium. Professor Greene in his introduction defines humanism as synopsis, "an historical-philosophical synthesis". Professor Perry argues that the humanities "embrace whatever influences conduce to freedom". He really equates them with culture, relying on the famous definition of "humanitas" by Aulus Gellius as "eruditio institutioque in bonas artes". In a well-nourished lecture on the Renaissance Professor Krey sustains two main theses: that there

was nothing qualitatively new in the humanism of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and that there was nothing in it hostile or antithetical to science. With respect for Mr. Krey's evident mastery of his sources and with deference to his better judgment some scholars may feel that he has not formulated his problems happily or solved them convincingly. Truth and beauty are not identical (*pace* Keats); they are two imperious, but different, needs of the human mind. Science appeals to the rational faculty, art and literature to the aesthetic. The real change that came in with the Renaissance was not the invention of a new method of study but the shift from interest in reason to interest in beauty. It is not impossible for the same man to harbor both interests; but they are, nevertheless, diverse.

PRESERVED SMITH.

International Bibliography of Historical Sciences. Edited for the International Committee of Historical Sciences, Zurich. *Tenth Year, 1935. Eleventh Year, 1936.* (New York, Wilson Company, 1938, pp. xxxvii, 473, xxxix, 449, \$10.65 each.) The editorial board in charge of this important bibliography has had few changes in its personnel. The first two volumes appeared under the leadership of Robert Holtzmann of Berlin and the next eight volumes under that of J. H. Baxter of St. Andrews; the volume for 1936 appears under that of F. M. Powicke of Oxford. There have been more changes, naturally, among the collaborators, and the previous volume specifically refers to the addition of specialists on China and Japan. The preface to the tenth volume calls attention to several changes in the presentation of material, the results of editorial experience and suggestions from reviewers. One is the separation of bibliographies from manuals and general works, giving the former a logical priority in position and paying more attention to the accounts of historical congresses and organizations. Another is the omission of postwar history until certain problems of treatment can be worked out. We are told that hereafter place will again be found for this material. Must we impose upon so technical a subject as historical bibliography the *Tendenz-Kritik*? Are the difficulties that have arisen products of the history writing of 1935 and 1936, or are they frictional troubles from the years of preparation and publication, 1937 and especially 1938. At his ordination council this reviewer was pressed rather sharply on the subject of answer to prayer, but that line of questioning was immediately abandoned when a highly respected, devout, and much bereaved layman asked: "Does not God sometimes reply 'No' to our prayers?" Perhaps the trustees of foundations usually reply "No" to requests for grants for bibliographies; but the assistance rendered by the International Bibliography of Historical Sciences to workers in all branches of historical teaching, writing, and research makes it compelling that the funds for its continuation be provided.

WILLIAM H. ALLISON.

Science moderne et philosophie médiévale. By M. GORCE and F. BERGOUNIOUX. Introduction by Jean Laporte. (Paris, Alcan, 1938, pp. viii, 176, 15 fr.)

On the Teaching of History and other Addresses. By C. H. K. MARTEN, Vice-Provost of Eton College. (Oxford, Blackwell, 1938, pp. vii, 148, 4s. 6d.)

Die Siedlungen der Bergbaulandschaften an der hessisch-thüringischen Grenze. By Dr. ADAM DEIST. [Frankfurter geographische Hefte.] (Würzburg, Konrad Triltsch, 1938, pp. 157, 4 M.) The author's exclusive concern with a small area (480 square kilometers) on the Hessian-Thuringian frontier, containing the towns of Bebra, Rotenburg, and Sontra, makes his monograph of primary in-

terest to the local historian, though his details are of value to the general student as illustrating larger trends, and his method and its implications are of concern to those interested in the future of history. The medievalist can find satisfaction in noting how determinative and how lasting were the conditions of settlement fixed during the Middle Ages. The author moves boldly in a tightly compact text from prehistoric times to the present. He is able to show that by the eighth century thirty-five of the present fifty-five settlements within his area had been made and that by 1300 the number exceeded greatly the latter figure. There is no reason to doubt that this study, based upon a wide variety of original materials and buttressed by a bibliography of some three hundred items, is, within its limits, very competent. It must be read by the alert historian, though he may wonder what this invasion of the new geography will leave to the already restricted field of history. He will note that in this study there is no mention of any person, except within parentheses or as the author of a learned work. He may, therefore, ask himself whether, in order to escape the dehumanization of these cold statistical tables, graphs, and appendixes prepared by history's ambitious offspring, it is not necessary to recapture the living human personality and to urge that historical writing, strengthened and chastened by its scientific illusions, return to its legitimate and traditional path among the humanities.

EDGAR N. JOHNSON.

Istoria Basarabiei: Contribuții la studiul istoriei Românilor. By A. V. BOLDUR. Volume I, *Epocile Vechi (Până la sec. XVII)*. (Chișinău, Tipografia "Dreptatea" (Pasaj), 1937, pp. 324, 300 lei.) Bessarabia has been won and lost in the last two thousand years by a dozen or more nations. Today it is a Rumanian province bordering on Soviet Russia. In the present volume Professor Boldur comes down to the seventeenth century. Using ancient and medieval sources, contemporary monographs, and recent archaeological publications concerning the north shore of the Black Sea and its hinterland, he gives a short introduction and a brief concise account of Bessarabia before the barbarian invasions. Naturally a great change occurred with the coming of the barbarians, and Professor Boldur evaluates in one chapter the various Slavic, Byzantine, Teutonic, and Asiatic influences and traditions which remained after the several invasions. The geographical position of Bessarabia in the path of many migrating tribes kept the region in turmoil for centuries, and the author does not place the inception of a stable political organization before the twelfth century. From the twelfth to the early part of the fourteenth century Rumanians began to enter Bessarabia, and society became settled under the control of a few "gentile" families. Part IV, which comprises the second half of the volume, deals with the development of society and politics from the fourteenth to the seventeenth century. Unquestionably this is the most valuable part of the volume, for here the author constructs from scattered documents the role of feudalism, the state of the several social and economic classes, the development of law, and the type of culture in Bessarabia during this period. His comparison and contrast of the Rumanian historical viewpoint concerning Bessarabia with those of Russia and Europe is very interesting.

SYDNEY N. FISHER.

Islam. By HENRI MASSÉ. Translated by Halidé Edib. (New York, Putnam's, 1938, pp. x, 270, \$2.50.) M. Massé, professor of Arabic and Persian literature at the University of Algiers and the École nationale des langues orientales in Paris, and Madame Edib, distinguished Turkish feminist and author, have produced a work that satisfies the general reader but disappoints the scholar.

A translation of *L'Islam* (Paris, 1930), a title which is nowhere given in the translation, it sums up the results of modern scholarship and offers little that is new. It quotes repeatedly from Lammens, Hurgronje, Coldziher, and Gaudefroy-Demombynes without indicating the exact source. The bibliography and table of contents of the French text have been omitted, and an index, rather incomplete, has been added. Arabic names appear in French garb and are not always easy to recognize. Inaccuracies in translation and typographical errors are not uncommon.

PHILIP K. HITT.

La Turquie, passé et présent. By MARCEL CLERGET. (Paris, Colin, 1938, pp. 207, 16, 15 fr.) The author does not claim originality for this little volume. It is for the most part an uncritical "popular" exposition that might have been more descriptively entitled, *Present-Day Turkey and its Foundations*. The emphasis is laid on the last two chapters, which include, respectively, the nomadic, agricultural, and municipal groupings of the population and the economic life of the state. The first two chapters on the foundations of Turkish life are devoted, respectively, to the physical factors of geography and vegetation and the human factor—history, the composition of the population, and current political problems. Incidentally some of the most interesting historical material appears in the topical treatment, as in the section on the traditional elements of economic activity at the beginning of chapter iv. From the point of view of the author's aim this is a singularly able work. In brief compass it includes an amazing array of material, otherwise difficult of access, chiefly on the geography, the people, and the economic organization of the country, which the historian may well consider. Its shortcomings, if such they are, result from excessive brevity and overcondensation.

WILBUR W. WHITE.

Anglia a Polska w epoce humanizmu i reformacji [England and Poland in the epoch of humanism and reformation]. By Dr. URSZULA SZUMSKA. [Prace historyczno-kulturalne pod redakcją Stanisława Lempickiego.] (Lwów, Księgarnia Krawczyńskiego, 1938, pp. 200.) This is a doctoral dissertation prepared under the auspices of the Jan Kazimierz University. It deals with cultural contacts between Poland and England from the late Middle Ages through the sixteenth century. The concluding chapter has to do with Polish travelers in England and English travelers in Poland during the same period, and there is an appendix listing the Polish travelers in England, Scotland, and Ireland from 1442 to 1660.

AVRAHM YARMOLINSKY.

The Expansion of Europe: A Social and Political History of the Modern World, 1415-1815. By WILBUR CORTEZ ABBOTT. Second revised edition. (New York, Crofts, 1938, pp. xxx, 517, \$5.00.) The opportunity afforded by a new edition of Professor Abbott's well-known work has made it possible to revise it "in accordance with various suggestions made since the appearance of the second edition, and to bring the bibliography more nearly up to date".

Indices op de Brugsche Poorterboeken. By REMI A. PARMENTIER. [Geschiedkundige Publication der Stad Brugge, II, Parts I and II.] (Bruges, Desclée de Brouwer en Cie, 1939, pp. lvi, 998, Bijlagen, pp. 159.) The city of Bruges possesses a large collection of documents relating to its medieval and early modern past. Under the direction of Remi A. Parmentier the archives are splendidly organized so that their treasures are readily available to the researcher. Several inventories have been prepared, the one by the former archivist, Gilliodts van Severen, dealing with chancery and other documents concerning the

political and administrative history of Bruges being well and favorably known. The present archivist now presents in two handsome volumes a useful index to the *poorterboeken* of Bruges. The Netherlandish word *poort* is derived from the Latin *portus*. *Poorterie* means citizenship, and the *poorterboeken* are the books in which the names and pertinent information about new citizens or burghers were set down. The *poorterboeken* of Bruges cover the years 1418 to 1794. The names of the new burghers, their birthplaces, and in many cases their crafts, together with reference to the pages on which appear the official acts of their admission to citizenship, are entered in the *poorterboeken*. The *Bijlagen* (appendixes) are particularly valuable, for they contain sample texts relating to the many questions which were considered when admitting new members to citizenship. Following these *Bijlagen* are a few facsimiles which enable the reader to form some idea of the appearance of the manuscript *poorterboeken*. These carefully prepared volumes, published at the expense of the city of Bruges, constitute an excellent guide to the history of the *poorters* of Bruges and are not to be regarded as a mere guide to archive repositories. They are indispensable to anyone wishing to study Flemish urban institutions.

HENRY S. LUCAS.

Les débuts de l'âge moderne: La renaissance et la réforme. By HENRI HAUSER and AUGUSTIN RENAUDET. [Peuples et civilisations.] Second edition. (Paris, Alcan, 1938, pp. 651, 70 fr.) This revision takes account of books and articles which have appeared since the publication of the first edition in 1929.

Bayle's Relations with England and the English. By LÉO PIERRE COURTINES. (New York, Columbia University Press, 1938, pp. x, 253, \$3.50.) This volume, suggested by the late Professor van Roosbroeck, presents the knowledge Bayle possessed of British history and investigates his relations with Englishmen and the influence he had on English thought. The *Miscellaneous Works* and the famous *Dictionary* are examined industriously for references to things and persons English. The results, arranged in useful appendixes, hardly justify the contention that "Bayle's works are filled with facts pertaining to English political, literary, and religious events". Bayle's knowledge of England, since he never visited England and did not know English, was decidedly second hand, largely episodic, and quite unsystematized. It does not justify the conclusion that Bayle had a greater interest in English history than in that of other countries. The other side of the investigation—Bayle's relations with Englishmen and his influence on English thought—is much more convincing. His connections with Boyle, Burnet, and Locke are treated with effectiveness, especially as the result of using a number of unpublished letters. There is also value in the examination of early eighteenth century English periodicals for references to Bayle. But, again, there is too much assumption of an influence that the evidence does not prove: "It is highly probable that these distinguished men knew Bayle's work. . . . Dryden was undoubtedly acquainted. . . . Chambers may have been familiar. . . . Locke must have read. . . . Though difficult to prove, it is very likely that Collins. . . . His *Dictionary* was probably as widely used in England as in France", etc. There is still need for a careful study of the nature and extent of Bayle's influence in England. The author's references to English history are careless and rather superficial (e.g., pp. 3, 17, 22, 155), Hyndfore should be Hyndford, Antilles is not an island, and the Earl of Hermlington should be omitted as a nonexistent English nobleman.

HOWARD ROBINSON.

Portugal & the War of the Spanish Succession: A Bibliography with some Diplomatic Documents. By EDGAR PRESTAGE. (Cambridge, University Press; New York, Macmillan, 1938, pp. viii, 42, \$1.15.) This is a valuable contribution to the history of Portuguese participation in the war and diplomacy relative to the Spanish succession in Europe and America. Strongest on printed materials and British and Portuguese manuscript collections, it is weak with regard to French, Dutch, and Spanish archives. (The author makes no pretension to completeness.) The six documents printed are to be found in print elsewhere, but only in Portuguese. This little book emphasizes the need for a narrative history on the same subject.

MAX SAVELLE.

Americans in Russia, 1776-1917: A Study of the American Travelers in Russia from the American Revolution to the Russian Revolution. By ANNA M. BABEY. (New York, Comet Press, 1938, pp. xiv, 175, \$3.50.) As the author points out, this is the first attempt at a systematic investigation of American travel literature on Russia up to the Revolution of 1917. The thirty-eight page bibliography of primary sources covers books and magazine articles (no newspapers have been used), in most cases with brief information about the writer's background, purpose in going to Russia, and dates of visit. In the study that precedes the bibliography the author has tried to summarize the findings of American travelers (including resident diplomats and businessmen) with regard to such topics as the political situation, religion, peasantry, women, education, and the country's future. The material is discussed with reference to three separate periods, 1776-1861, 1861-1904, and 1904-1917. Very conveniently for Miss Babey's purpose, this chronological division corresponds not only with landmarks of modern Russian history but also with what she considers to be important turning points in American history. With emphasis upon the Americans' "background and characteristic viewpoints", she tries to show how the travelers' interests shifted and their evaluation of things Russian changed under the influence of developments at home. On the whole, the author has done her job in an interesting and competent fashion. My only objection is that perhaps she has dwelt too much on the obvious and has failed to develop some points which are in need of further elucidation. It would be very instructive, for example, to know more fully what made a Beveridge so favorably disposed towards the imperial Russian government. Students of both Russian and American history, however, should feel indebted to Miss Babey for her valuable pioneer work.

MICHAEL KARPOVICH.

The Hawaiian Kingdom, 1778-1854: Foundation and Transformation. By RALPH S. KUYKENDALL. (Honolulu, University of Hawaii, 1938, pp. vii, 453, \$5.00.) The Hawaiian kingdom enjoys the unique distinction of being the only Polynesian community to have achieved real political unity and to have maintained its independence against foreign encroachment for nearly a hundred years. The explanation of these two basic facts is the chief purpose of Professor Kuykendall's book, a purpose in which he has succeeded admirably. Few works on a subject as virgin as this can claim equal insight and finality. The rise of the kingdom coincided with the coming of white men and their continued presence in the islands. For the initial act of unification, Professor Kuykendall believes, the principal credit belongs to the native king, Kamehameha I, who brought together the people of the several islands and evolved a feudal polity worthy of William the Conqueror. But after his death the preservation of Hawaiian independence and a reasonable amount of political stability was due

mainly to the missionaries—Americans from New England, together with a few British—who took up residence in the islands after 1820. The evidence of their sincere and determined effort to construct a Hawaiian nation, founded upon a fusion of native and Occidental cultures, is convincing. Only when, in 1852-54, these men became fearful of approaching collapse within the kingdom and of the effects of unyielding pressure exerted by the French from without were they reconciled to annexation by the United States. Professor Kuykendall is to be congratulated on his thorough exploration of the sources, which are drawn from many archives and are largely in manuscript form. His work is more than an internal history of the islands. It is a study of the mid-Pacific rivalry of the three maritime Western powers, particularly during the period 1840-54, and as such is an important addition to the literature on the expansion of the United States.

RICHARD W. VAN ALSTYNE.

The Chevalier de La Luzerne, French Minister to the United States, 1779-1784. By WILLIAM EMMETT O'DONNELL. [Université de Louvain.] (Bruges, Desclée de Brouwer; Louvain, Bibliothèque de l'Université, 1938, pp. 286, 75 fr.) The Chevalier de La Luzerne, second French minister to the United States, enjoyed a greater ascendancy over the American government than any other foreign diplomat ever sent to this country. Dr. O'Donnell's dissertation, which is the first detailed study of La Luzerne's mission, explains his significant role in cementing the Franco-American alliance, stimulating military operations, and preventing reconciliation of the colonies with Great Britain. Separate chapters are devoted to "Canada and the Fisheries", "The Floridas and the West", and "The Peace Instructions of 1781", the latter being described as the minister's crowning achievement. Particularly interesting is the discussion of his participation in the plans for a permanent American army, the persuasion of Maryland to complete the Confederation, and the establishment of government departments in place of the committee system. The author gives La Luzerne credit for De Grasse's decision to lead his squadron into Chesapeake Bay "and thus for the defeat of Cornwallis". While the volume was not designed as a biography, it is unfortunate that Dr. O'Donnell reveals so little about the chevalier's personality. We see the official, never the man behind the documents. The book includes sections that belong rather to a treatment of the general diplomacy of the Revolution than to a discussion of La Luzerne's career. The work is based on a thorough study of the Paris archives, the letter books of La Luzerne, and published American sources. Little use has been made of pertinent manuscript collections in the United States, such as those in the Library of Congress, the American Philosophical Society, and the Pennsylvania Historical Society. An omission from the bibliography is E. P. Chase's *Our Revolutionary Forefathers* (New York, 1929), which includes the letters of Barbé de Marbois, who accompanied La Luzerne as secretary of the French legation.

E. WILSON LYON.

Deutscher Ständestaat und englischer Parlamentarismus am Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts. By HERMANN CHRISTERN. (Munich, Beck, 1939, pp. viii, 244, 7.10 M.) Social and political conditions in England and parts of Germany, notably Hanover, were not so dissimilar under the *ancien régime* as to exclude the application of the concept *Ständestaat* to states on either side of the North Sea. Realizing this similarity when confronted by the French Revolution, and even slightly earlier, some writers and officials in Germany, deeply impressed by English conditions and by Burke, endeavored to save several Ger-

man states in the eleventh hour by proposing English antirevolutionary medicines. Their efforts, largely literary and centering in Göttingen, provide the main topic of Professor Christern's book. There is nothing very new in it. His résumé of the situation of the German *Ständestaat* in the eighteenth century is useful. His knowledge of English literature on eighteenth century politics stops somewhere short of L. B. Namier. The novelty is provided by the application of National Socialist concepts to these problems. It is modern conditions that make the author insist that this meeting of English and German spirits was absolutely unique and that England, in common with the rest of the wicked Western world, moved from her original Germanic institutions to the ideas of 1789 and such abominations as the *Rechtsstaat* and misled Germany for a long time. At last, in 1933, Germany found herself, discarded "foreign" parliamentarism and individualism, and founded the *Volksstaat* on a racial basis. A somewhat earlier book on England by a Nazi historian (*Am. Hist. Rev.*, XLIV, 98) envisaged an Anglo-German partnership in a common imperialism; this one, appearing a year later, reads more like an anticipation of German dissatisfaction with English policies after Munich. That this is found in a discussion of a remote historical topic is proof of the effectiveness of Hitler's command: "Also in the sciences the *Völkisch* State has to find a medium of furthering National Socialism" (*Mein Kampf*).

ALFRED VAGTS.

An Illustrated History of Modern Europe, 1789-1938. By DENIS RICHARDS. (New York, Longmans, Green and Company, 1938, pp. xv, 334, \$2.00.)

Economics and Cultural Change. By RUSSELL A. DIXON and E. KINGMAN EBERHART. (New York, McGraw-Hill, 1938, pp. xi, 550, \$3.00.) The purpose of this book is threefold: "to trace the evolution of modern industrialism; to evaluate the contributions of each of the preceding cultures; and to study the forces promoting change in modern industrial society itself. . . . Its method is historical. Its emphasis is economic. Its point of view is cultural."

Apostles of Revolution. By MAX NOMAD. (Boston, Little, Brown, 1939, pp. x, 467, \$3.50.) Instead of the traditional twelve, there are only seven apostles here. First comes Auguste Blanqui, the martyr. The section devoted to this French conspirator, who was "the spiritual father of modern revolutionary socialism and communism", is followed by essays on the mighty antagonists, Marx and Bakunin. These figures rather dwarf Mr. Nomad's fourth subject, Sergey Nechayev, the obscure nihilist who casts a sinister shadow across the very beginnings of the Russian revolutionary movement. Next appear Johann Most, the German-American preacher of terrorism, and Nestor Makhno, the Ukrainian anarchist whose exploits form an amazing episode in the Russian civil war. Joseph Stalin brings up the rear of the procession. In each case the man's private career is indicated, but the emphasis is on public activities and on ideas, and the biographer is at pains to sketch in the background against which these portentous lives unfold. Without holding to the great-man philosophy of history, Mr. Nomad uses the biographical method to present the story of the radical movements of the past hundred years, anarchism receiving perhaps a disproportionate share of attention. For a popular book, this is a scholarly one. The errors of fact are of a minor order. The author has a firm grasp on his subject and presents it vigorously and lucidly. He has a shrewd way with theories and motives, and his own ideas are challenging even when they are not convincing. Mr. Nomad belongs to the race of iconoclasts. He eyes suspi-

ously every would-be emancipator of the downtrodden and knows at heart that the triumph of justice and equality is "not within the biological scheme". Yet implicit in these pages is a regard for humane values, especially "the naked truth", which saves the book from futilitarianism.

AVRAHM YARMOLINSKY.

Democracy and Socialism: A Contribution to the Political History of the Past 150 Years. By ARTHUR ROSENBERG. Translated from the German by George Rosen. (New York, Knopf, 1939, pp. xi, 369, vii, \$3.50.) "The book is intended to present primarily the practical political work of Marx and Engels during the period of 1845-95 . . . seen historically, the entire problem of 'democracy and socialism' belongs to the history of these fifty years". There is a short introductory sketch of the early history of modern democracy up to 1845 and a concluding section on the period from 1895 to the present.

Unsolved Mysteries of the Arctic. By VILHJALMUR STEFANSSON. Introduction by Stephen Leacock. (New York, Macmillan, 1939, pp. xi, 381, \$3.50.) After discussing the disappearance of the Norse Greenland colony, the noted explorer devotes an essay to each of four individual expeditions in the Arctic—the lost Franklin expedition of 1845-47, the "murder" of Thomas Simpson in 1840, the balloon expedition of Andree in 1897, and the lost Soviet fliers of 1938. Whenever occasion offers, the author argues earnestly in favor of his convictions about the merit of a meat diet in arctic latitudes.

O. J. FALNES.

Beginning the Twentieth Century: A History of Europe from 1870 to the Present. By JOSEPH WARD SWAIN. Revised edition. (New York, Norton, 1938, pp. xv, 772, \$4.25.) "Eight new chapters have been added at the end, carrying the story from 1920 to the present".

Military History of the World War: A Complete Account of the Campaigns on All Fronts, accompanied by 456 Maps and Diagrams. By GIRARD LINDSLEY MC-ENTEE, Colonel, United States Army (Retired). (New York, Scribner's, 1937, pp. xxii, 583, \$7.50.) This book gives a very clear and concise presentation of both the military and naval campaigns of the World War, with the emphasis on the former. Photographs and brief accounts of the leading commanders are also included. Of fundamental importance are the maps and diagrams, which do more than supplement the text; they are so numerous that the text may almost be said to supplement them. Footnotes are not given, but there is an extensive bibliography. The accounts of the Italian campaigns are especially interesting, as one would expect from the author of *Italy's Part in winning the World War* (1934).

Einheitlicher Oberbefehl: Ein Problem des Weltkrieges. By Gisbert Beyerhaus, ord. Professor der Geschichte an der Universität Breslau. (Munich, F. Bruckmann Verlag, 1938, pp. 78, 2.50 M.)

A Short History of the World since 1918. By J. HAMPDEN JACKSON. (Boston, Little, Brown, 1939, pp. x, 480, \$3.00.) This volume represents a completely rewritten edition of the same author's *The Post-War World*, published in 1935. Broader in scope than its predecessor, the *Short History* is a readable and thoughtful, if somewhat opinionated, résumé of events in the last two decades on all continents except Australia. The organization is basically geographical, and within continental limits it is both topical and chronological. The book is obviously intended for an American audience and should appeal to the

intelligent general reader who does not mind being roused to opposition on occasion.

WALTER CONSUELO LANGSAM.

A Short History of International Affairs, 1920 to 1938: Being the Edition of 1934 Revised and Enlarged. By G. M. GATHORNE-HARDY. [The Royal Institute of International Affairs.] (New York, Oxford University Press, 1938, pp. x, 487, \$3.50.)

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ANCIENT HISTORY¹

T. R. S. Broughton

Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum: United States of America, The Robinson Collection, Baltimore, Md. Fascicule 3 (U.S.A., fascicule 7). By DAVID MOORE ROBINSON, with the assistance of SARAH ELIZABETH FREEMAN. [Union académique internationale.] (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1938, pp. 62, plates XLIV, \$5.00.) The ambitious undertaking of an illustrated corpus of all ancient vases initiated by the late Edmond Pottier is slowly assuming reality. Most of the specimens in the present fascicule belong to the bypaths of classical art—the early Faliscan and Etruscan or the late South Italian and Roman wares. Among the few Attic vases the most important is the black-figured skyphos with scenes of potters at work. If the authors' interpretation is correct—and it is difficult to think of a more convincing one—we have here the only known representation of the building of a kiln with sides and top made of interlaced boughs and osiers and plastered over with dabs of clay. Such temporary Greek kilns were postulated years ago by the late Charles F. Binns, and it is of great interest to have his theory apparently substantiated. One change in the authors' interpretation may be suggested. The boy under the handle is not, I think, "impressing the design" on the shoulder of the amphora before him but attaching the handle to it; that is why he is grasping the handle with one hand to keep it in place while the thumb of the other hand is pressing the base into the jar, making a firm joining with the aid of slip. If he were decorating the vase he would be using a brush, as in other such scenes; for the designs on shoulders of Athenian black-figured amphorae are painted, not impressed. The descriptions give admirable biographies of related material, and the illustrations are excellent throughout—though one misses the use of polar light in the photography, which would have eliminated disturbing high lights.

GISELA M. A. RICHTER.

Les premières civilisations. By GUSTAVE FOUGÈRES, GEORGES CONTENAU, RENÉ GROUSSET, JEAN LESQUIER. [Peuples et civilisations.] Fourth edition. (Paris, Alcan, 1938, pp. vii, 495, 60 fr.) This edition reproduces in the main the text of the second edition, published in 1929, but includes, with modifications and additions, the chapter added to the third edition, 1935, on the results of recent excavations and investigations and the bibliographical supplement.

Solon the Liberator: A Study of the Agrarian Problem in Attika in the Seventh Century. By W. J. WOODHOUSE. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1938,

¹Under this and the following headings unsigned notices are, in general, contributed by the persons whose names appear at the heads of the divisions and who are otherwise responsible only for the lists of articles and documents.

pp. xvi, 218, \$4.25.) This last book of a distinguished scholar is a solid and stimulating contribution to Greek economic history. Woodhouse's insistence that an Attic peasant of the seventh century could not own land (since he held it simply as a family allotment) naturally leads to the conclusion that the only form of security in those days was a person's body. But because the aristocratic nobles needed ever more land, they invented a form of mortgage, called sale with option of redemption. This did not transfer ownership (with all its obligations) but only possession. No date of expiry of the option was made, for this would have converted the capitalist *rentier* into the working owner; indeed, he hoped that the peasant would default on interest or rent, for he could then hale him into debt-slavery or reduce him to the status of a *hektemor*. The *hektemors* were a class of hereditary villeins bound to their lord's estate—herein lay their chief cause of complaint—and were allowed to keep but one sixth of their land's produce. The new condition of the land was recorded by a *horos* (ward-stone); the bitter irony of it was that the *horoi*, recording as they did a sale with perpetual equity of redemption, purported to guarantee an indefeasible right, while in reality they bore witness by implication to a perpetual burden and servitude. But when the time came, these same *horoi* were there to proclaim the former ownership of the land. Thus the way was open for Solon to rehabilitate the pristine cultivators of the soil. I have not the space for criticism and in fact have already remarked (*Hellenic History*, pp. 75 f.) that Solon's chief contribution was his recognition that Attica could achieve greatness only through the development of the city (see also pages 81 and following for Cleisthenes's continuance of this policy).

C. A. ROBINSON, JR.

Bibliografia generale dell'età romana imperiale. By G. SANNA. Volume I, fascicle 1. [Pubblicata a cura dell'Ente nazionale di cultura (Firenze) in ricorrenza del bimillenario augusteo.] (Florence, "La Nuova Italia", 1938, pp. xvi, 123, 40 l.) This fascicle introduces a new and extremely detailed bibliography of the publications relative to the history of the Roman Empire from Augustus to Justinian, which appeared between 1880 and 1933—in some cases 1935. In his preface the author states that he does not seek to supplant the existing annual and critical bibliographies but rather to present a reference list that will be as complete as possible for the given period and spare scholars laborious and time-consuming bibliographical researches. Of the three volumes in which the work ultimately will appear, the first will cover collections of various writings, collections of sources, and works of reference; the second and third will include ancient and modern authors and the index. Only the first section of Volume I is included in this first fascicle. Here are listed periodical publications, nonperiodical collections, miscellanies, and the publications of congresses. The arrangement is alphabetic, and the titles are numbered in the order of their initial appearance. These numbers are used as cross references in later citations to avoid unnecessary repetitions of detail. Altogether, 1573 titles appear in this section. The first date of publications, the latest volume number to 1933, and the names of the editors and editorial boards of serial publications have been given in the great majority of cases but not in all. Reviews of the miscellanies and congressional publications are listed under the appropriate titles, but here too we find omissions. On the whole, this promises to be a very useful compilation, but its value will depend largely upon the completeness of the special sections in the later parts. A. E. R. BOAK.

Die Dislokation der römischen Auxiliarformationen in den Provinzen Noricum, Pannonien, Moesien, und Dakien von Augustus bis Gallienus. By WALTER WAGNER. [Neue deutsche Forschungen.] (Berlin, Junker und Dünnhaupt, 1938, pp. 278, 12 M.) In this book all available information is given on the 54 *alae*, 132 auxiliary cohorts, and 22 *numeri* of the Roman imperial army which were stationed in the Danube provinces at any time between the reigns of Augustus and Gallianus. Each unit is treated separately in alphabetical order within its respective category, and over three quarters of the book (pp. 1-216) are devoted to these individual histories. For the *alae* and cohorts the author has made thorough use of all material, principally diplomatic and epigraphical, which has come to light since Cichorius published his two comprehensive articles in the *Real-Encyclopädie* ("Ala" in 1894, "Cohors" in 1901), and as this new material is considerable in quantity and quality, Wagner's book may be regarded henceforth as the standard work of reference on the *auxilia* of the provinces in question. The section dealing with the *numeri*, however, contains, with a few exceptions, no material not already discussed in detail in my article "Numerus", where the *numeri* of the entire imperial army are treated individually (*Real-Encyclopädie*, XVII [1937], 2587 ff.). Hence for this category of units Wagner furnishes a parallel treatment rather than an addition to our evidence. The book closes with a *Zusammenfassung* of nineteen pages. The general discussion of the character and functions of *auxilia* and *numeri* offers nothing new, but the comprehensive survey of troop movements in the Danube provinces is a brief but valuable contribution to the history of Roman defense and warfare along the Danube. On the whole, the problems presented by scattered and fragmentary evidence are handled in a conservative, reliable manner. A convenient table shows the time, place, and movement of each unit by provinces. There is a geographical index.

HENRY T. ROWELL.

Caesars Commentarii und das Corpus Caesarianum. By KARL BARWICK. [Philologus, Supplementband XXXI, Heft 2.] (Leipzig, Dieterich, 1938, pp. iv, 222, 15 M.) Accepting the Caesarian authorship of the much-discussed geographic and ethnographic passages of Books I, IV, and V of the *Gallic Wars*, Barwick explains the evident fact that they are interpolations by the assumption that Caesar revised portions after publication and that our text preserves these passages in both the revised and unrevised form. Since the original edition of a later book of the *Gallic Wars* sometimes agrees with the corrected version of a preceding book, it appears that the account of each year's operations was written and published shortly after the campaign closed. These *Commentaries* were a popular counterpart of the official communiqués and were designed to mold public opinion into an effective check upon the senate. Their geographical information is generally derived from Poseidonius, not from Timagenes. Barwick believes that the *Civil War* is complete and that it was published in two parts, immediately after the events of 49 and 48 B.C., respectively, to justify Caesar's acts and to quiet resentment over Pompey's murder. After the dictator's death Balbus commissioned Hirtius to supplement the *Commentaries* so as to provide a complete account of Caesar's *res gestae*. Hirtius composed B. G. VIII and the *Alexandrian War*, so called although its narrative goes well beyond the end of that conflict. Fellow officers supplied him with eyewitness accounts of operations in Africa and Spain to serve as a basis for those portions of his history. These anonymous documents, *Bellum*

Africum and *Bellum Hispaniense*, found among Hirtius's literary effects after his sudden death, were incorporated with the revised *Commentaries* from Caesar's own hand and the supplements by Hirtius into the *Corpus Caesarianum*, and published soon after 43 B.C. Barwick gives due credit to scholars whose work has prepared the way for his study. His own arguments are often convincing, but he has sometimes developed them further than is justified by the evidence. Nevertheless, he has clarified in an admirable manner some very obscure questions.

JAMES E. DUNLAP.

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MEDIEVAL HISTORY

G. C. Boyce

The Numismatic History of Rayy. By GEORGE C. MILES. [Numismatic Studies, No. 2.] (New York, American Numismatic Society, 1938, pp. xii, 240, plates vi, \$4.00.) "The present numismatic compilation, together with the accompanying historical commentary, is intended not only to provide a corpus of the coins issued at one of the great mint-cities of Islām but also to serve as a source-book for a history of Rayy and its province during the mediaeval Islāmic period. No field of history is so well served by its numismatics as is the Islāmic, and in the case of Rayy we find almost every event of any historical, or at least political, importance reflected in the issues of the Rayy mint. . . . The historian should be pleased to find how the coins testify to the accuracy, in matters of chronology at least, of such chroniclers as Tabari, ibn-al-Athir and their sources" (p. iii).

The Jews in the Byzantine Empire, 641-1204. By JOSHUA STARR. (Athens, Verlag der "Byzantinisch-Neugriechischen Jahrbücher", 1939, pp. vii, 266.) This book consists of two parts. The first and shorter part (pp. 1-79) studies the situation of the Jews under the Byzantine emperors from 641 to 1204 and deals with their persecution by intolerant emperors, taxation, legal aspects, economic activities, communal and social life, intellectual interests and literary products, and aspects of religion and culture. It concludes with the statement that several problems of Jewish literature have not yet been definitely solved and that undoubtedly some Christian and Islamic manuscript sources which refer to Byzantine Jewry are not yet available, but that there is considerable encouragement in the fact that our store of data has increased in recent years to a remarkable extent and reason to expect that the increase will continue. The second and much longer part (pp. 81-246) contains sources and very copious notes on the first part, six excursuses, and two appendixes. There is an excellent systematic bibliography and an index. The author explains the chronological limits of his study by the fact that while the fourth to the seventh centuries have received and are continuing to receive a considerable degree of attention from both historians and archaeologists, the period beginning with the seventh century remains comparatively neglected. He correctly emphasizes the fact that the changes brought about by the Arab conquest make a suitable starting point. The book reveals almost exhaustive knowledge of primary and secondary sources in West European, Oriental, and Slavonic languages. It is a very important contribution to the history of the Jews in the Byzantine Empire.

A. A. VASILIEV.

Beiträge zum Chazarenproblem. By MAXIMILIAN LANDAU. (Breslau, Stefan Münz, 1938, pp. 46, 2 M.) This study, which is concerned with the much-disputed Hebrew documents dealing with the Khazars, deserves to be commended as a painstaking defense of the authenticity of the letter sent by Hasdai of Cordova to the Jewish ruler of Khazaria and of the more problematic document published by Schechter in 1912 and as an original interpretation of the vicissitudes of Byzantine Jewry in the tenth century. Landau argues persuasively that the messianic hope which pervades the message attributed to the Cordova Jew, as well as the style in which it is written, supports the hypothesis of its authenticity, but he neglects to discuss the Khazar authorship of the reply to Hasdai's letter. Considerable doubt as to the char-

acter of Schechter's document, which parallels the anonymous Greek material apparently written by the Toparch of Gothia, has been cast by Grégoire (*Byzantion*, XII, 242-48). Landau explains the persecution of the Jews by Romanos I as the price paid to the patriarch of Jerusalem for the recognition of the emperor's appointment of his undeserving son as patriarch in Byzantium. He also discusses a relatively new Hebrew source which seems to be a letter from Hasdai to the imperial court, specifically the Princess Agathe. These pages will be found to be a valuable supplement to my book, *The Jews in the Byzantine Empire, 641-1204* (Athens, 1939), which appeared some months later.

JOSHUA STARR.

Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen im Mittelalter: Deutsche Kaiserzeit. By WILHELM WATTENBACH. Edited by ROBERT HOLTZMANN. Volume I, Part I. (Berlin, Emil Ebering, 1938, pp. xv, 162, 3.60 M.) Bringing Wattenbach's great work abreast of recent scholarship has long been as much a *desideratum* as a revision of the *Jahrbücher* for Otto III or the completion of those for Frederick Barbarossa. Wattenbach published his *Geschichtsquellen* in 1858 as a prize essay and then enlarged it to two volumes in its reissues in 1866, 1873-74, 1877-78, 1885-86, and 1893-94. After his death in 1897 Dümmler undertook a seventh edition but died before he had completed the first volume. Traube finished the book and saw it through the press in 1904. Now, after more than three decades, Professor Holtzmann brings out the first part of an eighth edition. The new Wattenbach begins with the Ottonian age, which has been interpreted as extending to 1050 instead of to 1024. There is so much material in the present part, dealing with the Ottonian era in general and Lower Lorraine, Flanders, and Frisia (by Heinrich Sproemberg) in particular, that is not contained in the same sections of the Dümmler-Traube edition that the text of that issue is only occasionally apparent. Paragraphs have been expanded into sections, bibliographical notices have been amplified to include recent works, and, what is especially welcome, data have often been given greater precision. It is to be hoped that Professor Holtzmann's Wattenbach will soon be available in its entirety.

FRANCIS J. TSCHAN.

Inquisition and Liberty. By G. G. COULTON. (New York, Macmillan, 1938, pp. xiii, 354, \$4.50.) Dr. Coulton would probably be the first to deny that this volume constitutes an original contribution to the subject of heresy and the Inquisition during the Middle Ages. He has used only well-known and easily accessible materials and has employed them as we have learned to expect from other studies from his pen. He begins with the growth of medieval heresy at the opening of the eleventh century and carries the story after some sort through the Spanish Inquisition. Indeed, in the last two chapters the theme is traced through modern times down to our own day. Questions involving organization and procedure are reduced to a minimum; vividness is secured by a copious larding of the discussion with translation from the original sources. The work is diffuse and shows evidences of haste, both in writing and in proofreading. The reader is never quite sure just where a chapter may lead him. Thus chapter xviii, entitled "The Heretic in Court", in which might be expected a treatment of procedure or at least a discussion of the depositions of suspects before the tribunal, consists chiefly of a running translation of three sentences taken from the *Register* of Bernard Gui and ends with an obiter dictum designed to show that the church failed to crush heresy. The statement on page 291 that "in Spain, the sovereigns insisted upon earmarking all

confiscated property for the Crown; whereas in Italy, it had gone to the popes and Inquisitors, and elsewhere had been divided in varying proportions" seems a hasty method of disposing of a difficult and complicated problem. But the book is hardly to be judged from the standpoint of accuracy in detail. It presents a point of view meriting a respectful hearing; it is written with spirit; and it is from the pen of one who, from long laboring in the vineyard, has earned the right to speak.

AUSTIN P. EVANS.

Irish and Norse Traditions about the Battle of Clontarf. By ALBERTUS JOHANNES GOEDHEER. [Academisch Proefschrift.] (Haarlem, Tjeenk Willink, 1938, pp. xiii, 124.) The Battle of Clontarf, fought on Good Friday, April 23, 1014, as the last important struggle on Irish soil between Irish and Scandinavians and as the occasion of the death of the Irish high king, Brian Bóruma, who, it seemed, was about to establish a new and powerful national dynasty, has loomed large in Irish historical records, in tradition, and in romance. The event impressed itself on the Northern mind also, and it would appear that there was a *Brjáns Saga*, part of which has been incorporated into the well-known Icelandic tale which is Anglicized as *The Story of Burnt Njal*. The present study, which, except for the brief preface, is in English, is a careful, workmanlike examination of the several documents, with comparisons both among these and with earlier and later compositions. The conclusions are not strikingly new or radical, but the whole constitutes a scholarly and useful contribution to Irish historical studies. It is interesting to note that, although Clontarf has received little attention from historians in recent years, at the same time that Dr. Goedheer was producing this work in Holland the *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, for June, 1938, presented a study on the same subject by the Reverend John Ryan, S. J.

JAMES F. KENNEY.

Actes des comtes de Flandre, 1071-1128. By FERNAND VERCAUTEREN. [Académie royale de Belgique, Commission royale d'histoire.] (Brussels, Palais des Académies, 1938, pp. cxv, 399, plates xiii, 200 fr.) This collection includes 130 acts, complete or partial, authentic or false, and mention of 42 lost acts of the counts of Flanders in the period when they were engaged in consolidating their power. While the documents for the most part are a rather monotonous record of lands, revenues, and privileges accorded to the churches and monasteries of the region, one finds here and there among them a few acts which point to the future greatness of the county and its rulers. Treaties between Count Robert II and Henry I of England (Nos. 30, 41) can be said to mark the beginnings of the great part that Flanders was to play in the diplomacy and warfare of the Anglo-Norman and Capetian kings. The volume also includes the celebrated charter of Count William (No. 127) granting communal franchises to the burgesses of Saint-Omer. The first such grant made in Flanders, it reflects the urban growth and commercial prosperity which were beginning to transform the economic life of the area. An important feature of the feudal consolidation which the eleventh century counts were effecting is revealed by the appearance in 1089, or shortly before, of the first comital chancery (No. 9). Almost all the documents in this collection prove to have been drawn up by the beneficiaries in monastic *scriptoria*, and there is evidence of a trend toward more uniform practice and forms in the redaction and promulgation of acts. The volume maintains the high standard of erudition already exemplified by its predecessor in the *Recueil des*

actes des princes belges. The editor's introduction consists of a series of critical studies bearing upon diplomatics and paleography. Appended are facsimiles of representative documents, seals, and monograms. There is also a map of the county of Flanders circa 1100 and a formidable index.

S. E. GLEASON, JR.

La doctrine de la création dans l'École de Chartres: Étude et textes. By J. M. PARENT, O. P. [Institut d'études médiévales d'Ottawa.] (Paris, Vrin, 1938, pp. 223, 40 fr.) The literary and scientific activities of the schools of Chartres have received much attention from historians, but the philosophical and theological interests of the masters working there during the twelfth century have been less thoroughly explored. After a brief introduction describing conditions during the early twelfth century, Parent gives a systematic discussion of the doctrine of creation as developed by writers of Chartres. Plato dominated their thinking through what they had of the *Timaeus*, Boethius through the *De consolacione* and the *De Trinitate*. Indeed, Boethius at Chartres seems clearly a link between the antique and the scholastic, and it is important to note that for the Chartres masters he had greater affinity with Plato than with Aristotle, whose medieval triumph was to come so soon after their time. Ardent as was their liking for Plato, Parent makes it clear that these writers did not endeavor to Platonize the Bible; they tried instead to show how a better understanding of Scripture might result from a study of the *Timaeus*. The second half of the volume contains texts of William of Conches (glosses on the *De consolacione* and on the *Timaeus*), an anonymous commentary on the *De Trinitate* of Boethius, and the *Liber de eodem secundus* by a pupil of Thierry of Chartres.

The Mediaeval Universities. By NATHAN SCHACHNER. (New York, Stokes, 1938, pp. 388, \$3.50.) This is a popular history of medieval universities. It is based largely on the work of Rashdall and other well-known authorities, though no use seems to have been made of D'Irsay's general survey. A hasty glance at the list of works consulted is sufficient to show that the author could add nothing to what is already known about his subject. Unfortunately his orientation in the field of medieval studies does not seem to be of the best, for even when relying upon sound authority he is disposed to make generalizations that medievalists must reject. He seems, for instance, to have little sympathy with the medieval church and, in the reviewer's opinion, constantly and unwarrantably overemphasizes its authoritarian character. For scholasticism—not too well defined—he has even less respect. A tendency towards oversimplification is evident throughout the book, and general readers will receive erroneous impressions of situations, even though they were not intended. At times what seems to be novelty of interpretation is nothing of the sort. An example of this is the discussion of the importance of the Crusades on pages 15-16. Haskins and others long ago uttered the same warnings. It is strange, when reading the author's summary list of authoritative university texts, to encounter the statement: "All knowledge was fixed and known in so far as it would ever be given to man to know" (p. 371). It is regrettable that a book which could have satisfied a real need is so open to criticism.

Les oeuvres et la doctrine de Siger de Brabant. By FERDINAND VAN STEENBERGHEN. [Académie royale de Belgique.] (Brussels, Palais des Académies, 1938, pp. 195.) Scholars who have occasion to use Mandonnet's volume on

Siger will immediately recognize the importance of Professor Van Steenberghe's survey of the present status of our knowledge of this thirteenth century figure and the intellectual milieu in which he played such a brilliant part. There is a discussion of the authenticity of Siger's writings, of their chronological sequence (which is that of the Munich manuscript), and of the textual work that must be done before final solutions of fundamental problems can be reached. A brief but vivid description of the crosscurrents of life in the University of Paris between 1250 and 1277 provides for a clearer understanding of Siger's activities there following August, 1266, and of the events leading to the great condemnation of 1277. A second chapter, the longer of the two, contains a systematic analysis of Siger's philosophy.

Select Cases in the Court of King's Bench under Edward I. Edited by G. O. SAYLES. Volume II. [The Selden Society.] (London, Quaritch, 1938, pp. clvii, 250, £2 12s. 6d.) Continuing an important work that has previously been noticed (*Am. Hist. Rev.*, XLII, 730), this volume presents a collection of typical cases for the years 1290-93 together with an appendix of supplementary documents. The introductory chapters on the history of the court give special attention to jurisdiction and procedure. Contrary to a common assumption the king's bench, which became the great criminal court, was by no means founded for that purpose, and it heard litigation of whatever sort affecting the king's interests. An appellate jurisdiction over the common bench, the eyres, and the county courts also afforded remedy for the laxity and the "ignorance and wilfulness" that sometimes prevailed in the lesser courts. The finality of the judgments in the king's bench refutes the argument once made by Mr. Bolland as to the "plenary power" of justices in eyre. The council now clearly appears as an independent body instead of a mere afforcement of the king's bench. In all essentials the king's bench was bent on the maintenance and shaping of the common law, although its judgments were sometimes equitable. Precedents were referred to "as in similar cases", though particular judgments were rarely cited. Pleadings were not necessarily written, but for convenience writings were sometimes submitted. Though theoretically attached to the royal person, the court ceased to follow the king on his campaigns or his journeys abroad; neither were sessions at any time suspended because of the king's absence. While disposed to defend royal prerogatives to the utmost, the judges refused to affirm a plea that the king was above the law. Translations of the text are usually acceptable, but that of *plenum parliamentum* as "open parliament" is open to exception.

J. F. BALDWIN.

L'eredità di Giangaleazzo Visconti. By NINO VALERI. (Turin, Società Poligrafica Editrice, 1938, pp. 230, 16 l.) Signor Valeri emphasizes both the rapid disintegration of Giangaleazzo Visconti's miniature empire and the complex factors, constructive and destructive, which hastened its downfall: an administrative system that in spite of certain excellences could not function under other guidance; social discontent; economic progress and political unrest in both the original domain and in the conquered provinces; the breakdown of the financial system; the energy of the neighboring states whose frontiers had been clipped or menaced by the late duke and who now reached for whatever they could incorporate in their own fabrics. The particularly able condottieri who knew conditions in the districts they had conquered began jousting for one commune or another, each hoping to carve a principality for himself; one corner after another fell from the hands of the Visconti until it seemed they

were to be eliminated from Milan itself. The sons of Giangaleazzo were too young to defend their rights, and the Regent Catherine fell in love with one of the factional leaders and thenceforth counted for little. The diversion caused by Cossa (later Pope John XXIII) in Romagna and the statesmanship of Malatesta brought about a truce which endured until their generation died and new actors appeared. Visconti's "heritage" was the substance he gave to the conception of a single Italian monarchy. This is an able study, and the author has succeeded, perhaps for the first time, in clarifying the movements of this decade (1402-12), which, not great in itself, is nevertheless significant as an interlude connecting two periods dominated by widely differing political concepts.

GERTRUDE R. B. RICHARDS.

La philosophie du moyen âge. By ÉMILE BRÉHIER. [L'évolution de l'humanité.] (Paris, Michel, 1937, pp. xviii, 458, 40 fr.)

Der Tyrannenmord im Spätmittelalter: Studien zur Geschichte des Tyrannenbegriffs und der Tyrannenmordtheorie, insbesondere in Frankreich. By FRIEDRICH SCHOENSTEDT. [Neue deutsche Forschungen.] (Berlin, Junker und Dünhaupt, 1938, pp. ix, 124, 5.50 M.) This scholarly monograph presents a "geistesgeschichtliche" study of the pamphlet "Justification du Duc de Bourgogne" of the year 1408. Careful textual studies supported by penetrating analyses of intellectual antecedents make this dissertation a valuable aid in the examination of the political and theoretical conflicts of late medieval France. Copious and learned footnotes and an extensive bibliography add materially to an understanding and evaluation of the present status of the study of the major controversial issues involved.

ERNEST LAUER.

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MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

THE BRITISH EMPIRE

F. H. Herrick

Report on the Manuscripts of the Marquess of Downshire preserved at Easthamstead Park, Berks. Volume III, *Papers of William Trumbull the Elder, 1611-1612*. Edited by A. B. HINDS. [Historical Manuscripts Commission.] (London, H. M. Stationery Office; New York, British Library of Information, 1938, pp.

xxviii, 545, \$3.25.) This second volume of the elder Trumbull's correspondence (for review of the first volume see *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XLIII, 607) supplies the student with little that is new or thrilling. The two years covered in these letters were rather drab and uneventful in England and on the Continent too. News of political as well as actual births is scattered through these missives, such as the election of Matthias as emperor and the appearance of Robert Carr as the first favorite at the court of James I, and prospective marriages and their possible consequences play an important role. France and Spain are to be joined by a double marriage alliance. James is casting about for a wife suitable for his eldest son, Prince Henry, and in Frederick of the Palatinate an excellent husband-to-be is found for Princess Elizabeth. Of death with its repercussions these letters have also much to say: they are voluble when Emperor Rudolph breathes his last, when the Earl of Salisbury leaves his king to the whims and fancies of a spendthrift nature, and when, to the grief of all Englishmen, young Prince Henry dies. These are well-known facts, however, and so is most of the detailed information and speculation which William Trumbull, fixed at his post in Brussels, received from far and near. Of Trumbull's own dispatches there are twenty printed here which are not to be found in the *State Papers, Flanders*, at the Public Record Office. Most of them were written to Salisbury and James. As in the previous volume Mr. Hinds has supplied an extremely helpful introduction and an excellent index.

HAROLD HULME.

Some Notes on 17th Century London Jews. By WILFRED S. SAMUEL. [Miscellanies, Jewish Historical Society.] (London, Purnell, 1937, pp. 28, 1s. 6d.) These "Notes" are a supplement to the same author's valuable paper, "The First London Synagogue of the Resettlement", in the *Transactions* of the Jewish Historical Society of England (X, 1-147). They are based on careful research in the scattered sources and correct previous investigations. Though concerned with minor points, they form a useful contribution to Anglo-Jewish history in the seventeenth century. It is curious that the Jewish community, by order of the lord mayor, had to pay weekly stipends to several converts to Christianity—the author collects three instances—while in other cases doles were given by the churchwardens. Before and also after the establishment of the official synagogue at Creechurch Lane private services were held in the houses of three of the Spanish Jews; similar gatherings of Polish Jews, though not recorded in the sources, are very probable. We learn of the business dealings of Isaac Israel Nunes, identical with the jeweller Isaac Alvarez, who at one time collected a debt of £4000 from King Charles II, and of ships owned by Jews in the middle of the seventeenth and the early eighteenth century.

ALEXANDER MARX.

Samuel Pepys, the Saviour of the Navy. By ARTHUR BRYANT. (Cambridge, University Press; New York, Macmillan, 1939, pp. x, 452, \$3.75.) Planned as the last of a trilogy, this work covers only the years 1683-89 and leaves Pepys's last fourteen years for a fourth volume. This is the best and most important book Mr. Bryant has ever written. The subtitle is the key to the volume. From June, 1686, to February, 1689, Pepys was secretary to the admiralty and, in the absence of great admirals, the chief influence in restoring ships, personnel, and discipline. The miserable state to which all three had fallen during his absence from the helm (1679-83) was amply revealed by his Tangier trip, with which the volume opens. That and the account of the Revolution of 1688 as seen from Pepys's offices in York Buildings may be the most interesting parts of

the book; but the most important part relates to his resurrection of the navy in the intervening years. His success should not be judged by the navy's sorry performance in 1688, for no amount of good civil service and efficient paper work could atone for the lack of fighting admirals. Pepys in his fifties was still intensely interesting and human: a keen observer, efficient, moralistic, president of the Royal Society, lover of life and beauty. Oblivious of the larger issues of the day and century, he was primarily the clerk and civil servant, busying himself with details of saluting during the most critical days of the Revolution. There is no diary of Pepys for this period except the recently printed one on the Tangier trip. Most of the volume rests on official correspondence and admiralty documents in the Bodleian and the Pepysian Library at Magdalene. Much is quoted, and all is told very interestingly. One wonders why so many dull people have been studied when this important period of Pepys's career lay unrevealed, though it too would have been dull in many hands.

CLYDE L. GROSE.

Sir William Trumbull in Paris, 1685-1686. By RUTH CLARK. (Cambridge, University Press; New York, Macmillan, 1938, pp. xi, 231, \$3.50.) Miss Clark has meticulously exploited the manuscript materials in the Public Record Office and the Quai d'Orsay, together with those in the Marquess of Downshire's possession, in developing her narrative of Sir William Trumbull's brief period of diplomatic activity. The picture is particularly full since the dispatches and memoirs of the English envoy and of Sunderland are matched with those of Barillon and of Colbert de Croissy. Virtually every item in them relates to the persecution of the Huguenots in France and to Trumbull's efforts to assist such as had any claim upon his services. In nearly every effort he was rebuffed, and everywhere there is evidence of Louis XIV's determination to eradicate heresy from his dominions and of his slight regard for England. With the exception of an unsuccessful attempt to serve Prince William in the affair of Orange there is no evidence that matters of high policy were confided to Sir William. In her preface the author declares that if proof or explanation were needed of "the growing hostility to France" and "the growing antagonism to James II" they could be found here. Yet the effect of persecutions and Revocation upon English sentiment is nowhere indicated, and it is unlikely that the contents of Trumbull's correspondence was known beyond a limited circle at court. The detailed story would have been given added value had it been possible to relate it more closely to its English setting. Relevant documents are published in the appendix together with a check list of Trumbull's important letters.

ROBERT H. GEORGE.

The English Revolution, 1688-1689. By GEORGE MACAULAY TREVELYAN. (New York, Henry Holt, 1939, pp. 281, \$2.00.) Mr. Trevelyan has ventured into what Sir Charles Firth called "the enchanted circle where Macaulay's magic works" and has tranquilly cast his own particular spell. His magic is of a kind more potent than that of his great-uncle with a generation that knew not Victoria. It is clear that he was glad, at a time when the world faces "absolutist governments of a new and more formidable type than those of Europe of the *ancien régime*", to write of England's decision in favor of "government by discussion" (p. 270). He admits that one unfortunate result of the revolution was an admiration which led to "undue conservatism" for a hundred years. "To Walpole, Blackstone, Burke, Eldon and the anti-Jacobin Tories of the early nineteenth century, the year 1689 seemed the last year of

creation, when God looked upon England and saw that it was good" (p. 11). Yet it will surprise nobody that Mr. Trevelyan, after thoughtful and thorough consideration, looks upon the English revolution settlement and finds that it was good. A separate chapter on Scotland and Ireland, with two paragraphs for America, brings this decision into greater relief. The narrative of events, political and ecclesiastical, is deftly done, with many a telling phrase. The mention of revolution finance brings us to the edge of the jungle where economic historians are blazing trails, but we are not invited along them. The point has been made that all accounts of the early Whigs and Tories will be unconvincing until we know more about where individuals were placing their money. It may someday appear that the firmness of James II in maintaining his other-worldly investments was not the chief reason why the rival politicians who saw Charles II finish his days in Whitehall agreed it was best that his brother go on his travels again.

LOUISE FARGO BROWN.

England's Subsidy Policy towards the Continent during the Seven Years' War.

By CARL WILLIAM ELDON, Drexel Institute of Technology. (Philadelphia, privately published, 1938, pp. vi, 178. \$2.00.) As stated in the preface, this study "explains why patriotic Englishmen thought it better to hire foreign troops for the defense of England and the prosecution of the war in Germany than to depend upon British soldiers. . . . It reveals to some extent the diplomacy of a little-explored subject and throws light upon the domestic angle of the subsidy policy." For the most part, it is based upon the Newcastle and Hardwicke manuscripts in the British Museum and upon materials in the Public Record Office. As a graduate student set to report upon the eighteenth century subsidies some years ago, the reviewer had occasion to realize and to lament the meagerness of such printed materials as bore upon this subject, and he is able therefore to recognize the value of this volume. For one thing, it makes very clear the wisdom of English ministers like Newcastle who, in spite of much parliamentary and popular opposition to subsidies, followed a policy which left Englishmen to the undisturbed pursuit of wealth and empire while the manpower of their French rivals was drained and their trade ruined. Thus it was that America was won in Germany. Making money may be an innocent occupation, as Dr. Johnson averred, but it is also rather uninspiring, and when the absence of political idealism is also considered, any account of eighteenth century policy is likely to suffer somewhat in consequence. Professor Eldon has not transcended these difficulties, and added to this there are numerous misprints and awkward constructions in the book, and an index is also lacking. Aside from these considerations and within the limits of English source materials, this is a careful work of scholarship that forms a valuable addition to a difficult and neglected aspect of eighteenth century history.

STEBELTON H. NULLE.

Private Charity in England, 1747-1757. By W. S. LEWIS and RALPH M. WILLIAMS, with the assistance of JOHN M. WEBB and A. STUART DALEY. (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1938, pp. xv, 132, \$2.00.) In this short study the editors have applied a new technique for discovering and analyzing "the tacit assumptions of the day", by which they mean "those habits and customs which are so familiar to the age that their existence is taken for granted even by men like Walpole and Boswell" (p. v.). The scholar will be interested to learn that, of the different kinds of material available for the study of eighteenth century England, the periodicals are by far the most valuable source of information

about daily life. Starting with a unique device to note and classify different kinds of information as to prices, lotteries, and other specific subjects, the category "charity" outstripped the others in interest, and the analysts then narrowed the time under survey to a decade and the scope from charity in general to private charity. The result is a valuable addition to our knowledge of social life in the reign of George II, a re-evaluation of the fundamental conceptions underlying philanthropy, and a handbook for similar probings. The royal family and upper classes contributed generously to individual or group sufferers from disasters, in good times and equally in bad times, when the general need was greater. The recipients—widows, children, gentlefolk, sailors, men in alms houses, the debtors, toward whom particular sympathy was directed, the aged, the ill, the incompetent, the deserving youth, soldiers, clergy—represent, with the donors, every group of society. This monograph reveals, in suggestion and in illustrative detail, a cross section in miniature of the times, and it stands in no mean contrast to a more exhaustive study of an institution, such as that of R. H. Nichols and F. A. Wray, *The Foundling Hospital* (1935).

FRANK J. KLINGBERG.

Sir William Blackstone. By DAVID A. LOCKMILLER. (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1938, pp. xviii, 308, \$3.00.)

The William Blackstone Collection in the Yale Law Library: A Bibliographical Catalogue. By CATHERINE SPICER ELLER. (New Haven, published for the Yale Law Library by the Yale University Press, 1938, pp. xvii, 113, \$1.50.) Dr. Lockmillier has carefully assembled the scanty data relating to Blackstone's early years, his career at Oxford, and his activities as lawyer, member of parliament, judge, and writer. But the result is the bare bones of a biography and not a penetrating biographical analysis. The author's style is so pedestrian and his organization includes so much extraneous material that, although he covers the facts of Blackstone's life reasonably thoroughly, the figure of Blackstone fails to come to life in his hands. Moreover, he has such a great reverence for Sir William that even his rare adverse criticisms tend to be apologetic. Dr. Lockmillier has properly stressed the importance of the *Commentaries*, but it is to be feared that his thirty-five page analysis of their contents will be of small help either to lawyer or layman in evaluating the merits and defects of Blackstone's treatise. The Blackstone printed material in the Yale Law Library is so complete that Miss Eller's bibliographical catalogue furnishes a valuable general guide to Blackstone's printed works and to printed material relating to him. She has provided a scholarly bibliographical list and analysis of the various editions of the *Commentaries* published in England, Ireland, America, and continental Europe, of the abridgments of the *Commentaries*, of the *Comic Blackstone*, of works founded on the *Commentaries*, of Blackstone's *Analysis of the Laws of England*, of his reports of cases and other writings, and of critical and biographical works relating to Blackstone printed in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

ARMAND B. DU BOIS.

Edmund Burke and his Kinsmen: A Study of the Statesman's Financial Integrity and Private Relationships. By DIXON WECTER. (Boulder, University of Colorado, 1939, pp. 113, \$1.00.) "The purpose of this brief study is to clarify some of the less familiar aspects of Edmund Burke's biography, chiefly with the help of new material drawn from the private papers of the statesman now preserved in part at Wentworth Woodhouse, Yorkshire, and in part at Milton, near Peterborough."

Catalogue of Political and Personal Satires preserved in the Department of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum. Volume VI, 1784-92. By MARY DOROTHY GEORGE. (London, printed by order of the trustees; New York, British Library of Information, [1938], pp. xxxviii, 1082, \$13.70.) Mrs. George maintains the high standard of excellence in cataloguing which she set in her earlier volume in this series, which covered the years 1770-83. The scope and arrangement of the work were described in this journal's review of the earlier volume (XLI, 336). Reports of parliamentary debates, newspapers and pamphlets, and these satirical prints were the main channels for influencing political opinion in this period. Only by a study of them can the political atmosphere outside of parliament be re-created and the importance of its temperature understood. Mrs. George points out that the "strong Whiggish undercurrent" of the prints of the years of the earlier volume is absent and that the "prevailing spirit" is now Tory. Similarly the most effective political journalism was no longer opposition, as during the American war. Two reasons suggest themselves to the present reviewer: first, Pitt exercised more effective press management than had North, and second, the prevailing sentiment in London, whatever it may have been in the country, which had formerly been anti-North, was now pro-Pitt, and London must have provided the greatest opportunity for the sale of both pamphlets and prints. An example of effective opposition caricature, however, is afforded by the history of the opposition to Pitt's Irish propositions in 1785. Mrs. George's introductory essay, the thoroughness and clarity of her descriptions and explanations, and her suggestive references and cross references enable the student far from the British Museum to grasp the significance both total and individual of these prints. Her profound knowledge of the politics and society of these years has resulted in the distinguished performance of a most difficult task.

GERDA RICHARDS CROSBY.

Sir Walter Scott, Bart. By Sir HERBERT J. C. GRIERSON. (New York, Columbia University Press, 1938, pp. xii, 320, \$4.50.) Based on lectures delivered at Toronto University in 1932, this book makes use of original sources, including family letters, unknown to earlier biographers of Scott and throws new light on Scott's private life and financial transactions with his publishers and printers.

The Political Thought of Samuel Taylor Coleridge: A Selection. By R. J. WHITE, Assistant Lecturer in the Faculty of History, University of Cambridge. (London, Jonathan Cape, 1938, pp. 272, 8s. 6d.) Coleridge is commonly thought of as a poet and critic or religious seer. Thinkers of his own time, however, acknowledged his importance as a political philosopher who emphasized with Burke the idea of the national community in contrast to the individualism of eighteenth century political thought. As a social theorist, however, Coleridge was in large measure ignored in the second half of the nineteenth century, the very period in which the concept of nationalism played so prominent a part. Recent studies by Muirhead, Cobban, and now this selection by White are again emphasizing Coleridge's contribution to nineteenth century social and political theory. The purpose of this book is to set forth a comprehensive statement of Coleridge's political thought in his own words. "This purpose", the editor says in his introduction, "has involved the extensive use of scissors and paste." He has used both well, especially the scissors. Coleridge's writings are given a clarity not easily discernible in their original diffuse form. The material has been arranged in three divisions corresponding to Coleridge's youth (1791-96), growth (1797-1809), and maturity (1809-34). In each division the writings are

classified under the headings: Religion, Philosophy, Politics, His Own Times. This order has been followed to indicate what Professor White regards as the most striking feature of Coleridge's thought, its unity of development and structure. Aside from these merits of careful selection and organization, the publication of this book would have been justified because it makes available in one volume and in readable type material which heretofore has been scattered through notes, letters, essays, and pamphlets not easily accessible and mostly in fine print.

CYRIL K. GLOYN.

Captain Marryat and the Old Navy. By CHRISTOPHER LLOYD. (New York, Longmans, Green, 1939, pp. xii, 286, \$4.00.) Captain Frederick Marryat is best known as a novelist. His life at sea was eventful and varied but not particularly distinguished and would not alone justify a biography. It is because of the close relation between his naval experience and his literary productions (his most important works, such as *Frank Mildmay*, *Mr. Midshipman Easy*, and *Peter Simple*, deal with naval life) that such a work as the present comes as a welcome addition to the ranks of both literary and maritime history. Christopher Lloyd, of the Royal Naval College at Dartmouth, devotes most of his book to a detailed account of Marryat's life in the navy. He draws heavily upon the autobiographical passages in the novels of Marryat for details and carefully identifies his experiences and the persons who figured in his career with events and characters in his writings. Although the portrait of the chief character is not full length, Marryat's life forms the binding thread of an excellent description of life in the "Old Navy". His activities in war and peace, as dashing young officer, as advocate of the reform of impressment, on routine cruises, in suppressing smuggling, and in a position of responsibility in the First Burmese War, are all woven into the account. There are a few slips to mar the generally high quality of the work, the prejudices and fictional liberties of Marryat are sometimes taken too literally, and the historical background is occasionally inadequate. On the other hand, the references indicate considerable research, the composition is careful, and the style excellent. The illustrations, mostly from the pen of Marryat himself, are splendid. On the whole, the book is valuable not only as a biography of Marryat but also as a picture of the life of an average officer of the royal navy in the three decades following Trafalgar.

JOHN HASKELL KEMBLE.

Sir Thomas Roddick: His Work in Medicine and Public Life. By H. E. MACDERMOT. (New York, Macmillan, 1938, pp. xiii, 160, \$2.00.)

A Royal Correspondence: Letters of King Edward VII and King George V to Admiral Sir Henry F. Stephenson. Edited by JOHN STEPHENSON. (New York, Macmillan, 1938, pp. vii, 225, \$3.50.) These letters are of value to those interested in the early years of King George V.

While England Slept: A Survey of World Affairs, 1932-1938. By The Rt. Hon. WINSTON S. CHURCHILL. With a Preface and Notes by Randolph S. Churchill. (New York, Putnam's, 1938, pp. xii, 404, \$4.00.) All but two of the speeches included in this volume were delivered by the distinguished statesman in the house of commons. "Observant readers", his son says in the preface, "will note the many cases where Mr. Churchill's prescience has already been proved beyond dispute, and some will detect occasions when he was alone in giving advice which might have advanced the national cause if it had not been disregarded, or accepted only too late."

National Library of Scotland: Catalogue of Manuscripts acquired since 1925. Volume I, *Manuscripts 1-1800, Charters and other Formal Documents 1-900.* (Edinburgh, H. M. Stationery Office, 1938, pp. xvi, 551, 17s. 6d.)

The Constitutions of All Countries. Volume I, *The British Empire.* [Foreign Office.] (London, H. M. Stationery Office; New York, British Library of Information, 1938, pp. vii, 678, \$2.90.) This volume is literally indispensable to all those who have occasion to consult the constitutions now in force in the British Empire. The texts of the constitutions and of related documents, such as royal instructions to governors, have been taken from official sources. Some of them are printed in full, but in many cases provisions deemed to be relatively unimportant or common to all instruments of the particular kind have been omitted. Reference is made to many documents not included in the volume, such as the amendments to the Australian constitution. The documents reproduced in whole or in part include acts of the imperial parliament, acts of dominion and colonial parliaments, letters patent, orders in council, and instructions to governors. The Foreign Office and the Stationery Office have rendered a signal service to all students of contemporary government in the British Empire. A succeeding volume will contain a similar collection of constitutional documents relating to the countries of continental Europe and their dependencies.

R. L. SCHUYLER.

A Short History of Nigeria. By C. R. NIVEN. (New York, Longmans, Green, 1937, pp. x, 262, \$1.60.) This little volume, "intended for use in the Nigerian Middle Schools", adds nothing to our knowledge of African imperialism. Its only possible value for the historian is to show how history is censored before it is taught to natives. Every page might well bear the *nihil obstat* of colonial official or missionary teacher.

HARRY R. RUDIN.

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FRANCE, BELGIUM, AND THE NETHERLANDS

S. B. Clough

Histoire de Gascogne et de Béarn. By PAUL COURTEAULT. [Les vieilles provinces de France.] (Paris, Boivin, 1938, pp. x, 364, 35 fr.) Few French provinces have as complicated a history as Gascony. As M. Courteault shows, the region has never been a political or even an economic unit, and the boundaries of its subdivisions have fluctuated in a bewildering fashion. The difficulties of treating such a subject are enhanced by the decision of the author (or the publisher) to omit all maps and genealogical tables. As a result, much of the story is unintelligible to readers who are not already acquainted with the history of the region. Moreover, in his effort to compress the material the author has oversimplified some problems; thus the economic revival of the twelfth century is ascribed solely to the church, and the intendants are given most of the credit for the development of industry after 1700. Yet M. Courteault has succeeded in presenting a surprising amount of information; no important phase of the life of the province is omitted. It is interesting to see how closely the general pattern of the development of French civilization was followed, even in this remote corner of the kingdom. Too many of our generalizations about French history have been based on evidence from the north; it is comforting to find that a large number of them apply south of the Gironde.

JOSEPH R. STRAYER.

Jean Sturm: Classicae epistolae, sive scholae Argentinenses restitutae. Translated and edited by JEAN ROTT. (Paris, Droz; Strasbourg, Éditions Fides, 1938, pp. xxxi, 130.)

Matricula scholae Argentoratensis, 1621-1721. Published by a group of professors of the school. (*Ibid.*, pp. iv, 280.) The above two works commemorate the four hundredth anniversary of the foundation of the University of Strasbourg. The first selects from the total correspondence of Jean Sturm, which the editor has under way, a group of letters which appeared as a unit in 1565. They have to do with the history, staff, affairs, and methods of the famous academy through which Sturm exerted a profound influence on the educational procedures of his generation from the Mediterranean to the Baltic and from the Seine to the Danube. The superconfessional quality of humanism is nowhere more apparent. Sturm was a Protestant somewhat to the left of Lutheranism, and in the end he was deposed through Lutheran intolerance. Yet the letters are redolent of the universalism of *bonae litterae*. Even the foundation of schools by the Jesuits is hailed with enthusiasm because their methods were so like his own and because they were doing for Catholic education what Reuchlin, Agricola, and Erasmus had never achieved. The second work is a list of the students matriculated for a century. The editors plan to continue the work when finances permit.

ROLAND H. BAINTON.

Claude Fauchet: Sa vie, son œuvre. By JANET GIRVAN ESPINER-SCOTT. (Paris, Droz, 1938, pp. xxxviii, 450.)

Documents concernant la vie et les œuvres de Claude Fauchet. By JANET GIRVAN ESPINER-SCOTT. (*Ibid.*, pp. 291.) These are erudite studies about an erudite figure. Fauchet was a scholar during the wars of religion who managed to survive and carry on learned pursuits even though engaged in the public employ as president of the mint. His distinction is that he applied the critical method of the Renaissance and the general interest in antiquity to the history

of France and French literature. His history of France is inspired by nationalism and Gallicanism but characterized by the spirit of historical criticism. "Il en résulte une histoire de la Gaule et de la France sous les deux premières races, presque entièrement purgée de fables." ROLAND H. BAINTON.

The Rise of Quakerism in Amsterdam, 1655-1665. By WILLIAM I. HULL. (Swarthmore, Swarthmore College, 1938, pp. xi, 346, \$4.00.) This volume deals at length with the activities of the early Quakers in the Netherlands, particularly at Amsterdam. It provides a full account of William Ames (not the well-known Puritan theologian), who began "publishing the truth" in Amsterdam in 1656, and of William Caton, his principal fellow worker. It gives briefer accounts of less important figures associated with these two in spreading the doctrine of the inner light. The author has little to say about the general state of religious life in the Dutch city so famous in the seventeenth century for its toleration. Conditions did not, apparently, so far as the Quakers were concerned, differ materially from those in England. The followers of Fox were confronted by the same practical problems on both sides of the water. They had to organize their local societies or "meetings", devise and support propaganda and missionary effort, enforce discipline over their own sometimes unruly members, and manage offensive and defensive war against the clergy of whatever church might in the given locality have the countenance and support of the civil authorities and the leading citizens. The author furnishes a great deal of detailed information concerning the activities of Quakers in such matters in the Netherlands without paying much attention to the general significance of the Quaker movement. He does not attempt to describe or analyze the remarkable organization which enabled George Fox and Margaret Fell to dispatch men like Ames and Caton hither and yon all over Europe. In short, this is an example of sectarian chronicle history at its best, not untouched, however, by the spirit of the saint's legend and martyrology.

WILLIAM HALLER.

Studien zur Entwicklung der Gedanken Lazare Carnots über Kriegführung, 1784-1793. By Dr. ROBERT WARSCHAUER. (Berlin, Ebering, 1937, pp. 155, 6 M.) In the initial chapter of these studies the author deals with Carnot's preparation for a military career. In the second chapter he emphasizes the fact that wars were dynastic in purpose and extent. In the field of "strategic interests and principles" he calls attention to the ideas of Carnot that "magazines" played more important roles than size of forces and that maneuvers had become important aspects of warfare. In short, Carnot was turning from the old principles to "war by maneuver", stressing, however, the significance of fortifications as front-line strategy. His assignment to duty in northern France in 1784 proved most advantageous in affording him the opportunity to study the terrain in preparation for his great success as the "organizer of victory". In his *Éloge de Vauban* Carnot paid tribute to Vauban's personal and military genius, and in his *Mémoires* he demanded stronger fortifications for France. In affording a broader perspective the author stresses Carnot's effective membership in the Jacobin Club, in which he played a leading part in arousing a keen sense of patriotism in a critical period. To a very large extent the author utilizes already published literature of the French Revolutionary period. C. N. Sisson.

Lyon n'est plus. By ÉDOUARD HERRIOT. Two volumes. (Paris, Hachette, 1937, 1938, pp. 407, 514, 20 and 28 fr.) With these volumes the distinguished president of the chamber of deputies and veteran mayor of Lyons begins a detailed

history of his native city and its region from September, 1792, to February, 1798. The portion here reviewed ends with the surrender of Lyons to the National Convention on October 9, 1793. The work is marked by excellent scholarship based on extended research in all the pertinent French and foreign archives. In fact, M. Herriot's zeal for letting the documents tell their own story is one of the chief defects of these volumes, probably half the text being direct quotation. The author's approach is primarily political, though attention is given to the social conflict in the city. We see the Lyons equivalent of the September Massacres, mounting hunger and unemployment, a Jacobin commune, and its overthrow by the moderates in a bloody insurrection on May 29, 1793. After the fall of the Girondins in the Convention on June 2, Lyons found itself arrayed against the Jacobins and the capital. Negotiations failed, and Lyons took up arms, experiencing a siege, incendiary bombardments, and terrible fighting before it finally capitulated. M. Herriot argues convincingly that the people of the city were staunchly republican, though their leaders in the crisis were royalists at heart. The author rightly emphasizes the significance of Lyons in the regional and general history of the Revolution. Unfortunately, he treats events in neighboring departments to such an extent as to impair the unity of his work. Valuable light is thrown upon the operations of the representatives on mission and the importance of the Constitution of 1793 in securing the adherence to the Convention of wavering departments. As one would expect, these volumes are well written, charmingly so in those occasional descriptions which reveal the author's love of the countryside.

E. WILSON LYON.

The Black Jacobins: Toussaint Louverture and the San Domingo Revolution.

By C. L. R. JAMES. (New York, Dial Press, 1938, pp. xvi, 328, \$3.75.) This is a popular treatise glorifying Toussaint Louverture and hailing him as the most gifted individual, other than Napoleon himself, on the crowded stage of the Napoleonic era. Crisp English and a fine sense of dramatic values will cause the rental library addict to burn with indignation at the planters' enormities and to follow the sable hero's quest for racial justice with bated breath. As an ephemeral work, *The Black Jacobins* can hold its own against any light volume of the day. Unhappily, however, both author and publisher present it as serious history, and footnote references and a bibliography give it the trappings of monographic research. The author claims an acquaintance with the Paris archives, though lack of time precluded much use of them. The Bibliothèque nationale's "terrifying collection" of pamphlet literature has likewise gone almost untouched. It is somewhat startling to learn that modern Haytian accounts of the St. Domingan Revolution are "easily the best . . . both in insight and objectivity". Lothrop Stoddard's classic, it appears, rests upon "a mirage of proof". The reviewer comes off surprisingly well, but there are no less than three errors in the entry covering one of his books. More time spent in research, an open mind, and less obvious striving for effect would have produced a far better book.

LOWELL JOSEPH RAGATZ.

A German Conscript with Napoleon: Jakob Walter's Recollections of the Campaigns of 1806-1807, 1809, and 1812-1813, according to a Manuscript found at Lecompton, Kansas. Edited and translated by OTTO SPRINGER, with historical collaboration by FRANK E. MELVIN. (Lawrence, University of Kansas, Department of Journalism Press, 1938, pp. 231, \$1.50.) Not the least interesting fact about this chronicle of three Napoleonic campaigns is the circumstance of its

discovery among the heirlooms of a Kansas family of German descent. By dint of much careful research Professors Springer and Melvin have fairly well established the validity of the manuscript found at Lecompton as a "reliable record" of the experiences of a common soldier—a stonemason by trade—conscripted from Württemberg to fight against the enemies of Napoleon. Particularly interesting is the relatively lowly authorship of the chronicle, for though there is no dearth of military memoirs dating from the early nineteenth century, few of these have come from the pens of privates. The theme is perforce strongly autobiographical, for the conscript knew nothing of staff plans and general strategy; he could merely note and eventually put down his own and his immediate associates' assignments, actions, sufferings, and reflections. The tone is piously Catholic; political opinions remain virtually unexpressed. The actual length of the manuscript, which appears to have been written over an extended period between 1820 and 1840, is ninety pages. Of these, seventy deal with the Russian campaign of 1812-13, at which time Jakob Walter was in his twenty-fifth year. Fortunately the editors have made available both the original text (a mixture of Swabian dialect and High German) and a smooth English translation. In addition Dr. Springer has included an interesting discussion of the language and style of the chronicle, and Dr. Melvin has contributed a judicious "historical appraisal" thereof. The 379 footnotes are models of linguistic and historical scholarship. A specially prepared map makes it easy to follow the conscript's military wanderings. WALTER CONSUELO LANGSAM.

Les espoirs de Napoléon à Sainte-Hélène. By Médecin Général R. BRICE. [Bibliothèque historique.] (Paris, Payot, 1938, pp. 302, 32 fr.) In a superficial way the author of this volume narrates the story of Napoleon from the time of his defeat at Waterloo until his death in 1821. As a story of the years spent at St. Helena it is less satisfactory than the "Autour de Sainte-Hélène" of F. Masson, the "Les derniers jours de l'Empereur" of P. Fremeaux, or the "Sainte-Hélène" of O. Aubry. It was not the primary purpose of the author, however, to tell again the oft told story of St. Helena. He aimed rather to throw the spotlight on one series of events connected with this drama—the story of the plans and actions of the French exiles in America who hoped to free Napoleon. He relates briefly, accordingly, their unsuccessful efforts to establish a colony in Alabama and in considerable detail the more ambitious attempt to found an empire in Mexico and to free the prisoner of St. Helena from captivity. The exiles, used to the lazy life of the French armies of occupation, hesitated to undertake the hard task of founding new societies, and their feeble efforts to realize their ambitious dreams failed. The title of the work is somewhat misleading. The author provides little trustworthy evidence to show that the plans of the conspirators were either "les espoirs" or even "les esperances" of Napoleon. To prove that he knew of or placed faith in the projects of the exiles something more substantial must be produced than the mysterious movements of two of his servants, the suspicions of Hyde de Neuville, and an analogy between the actual storming of Capri and a possible attack on St. Helena. The author expresses the interesting professional opinion that it was the climate, not cancer, that killed Napoleon.

C. P. HIGBY.

Letters to and from Madame du Deffand and Julie de Lespinasse. Edited by WARREN HUNTING SMITH. (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1938, pp. xxii, 97, \$5.00.) Among the manuscripts of Mme. du Deffand inherited by Horace Walpole were thirty-one letters which concerned her relationship with Mlle. de

Lespinasse. The first complete collection of these, including eighteen previously unpublished, are admirably edited, with an excellent introduction and an extensive index, in this beautifully printed volume. ARTHUR M. WILSON.

Histoire constitutionnelle de la France. By MAURICE DESLANDRES. Volume III, *L'avènement de la Troisième République, la Constitution de 1875.* (Paris, Colin and Sirey, 1937, pp. 541, 100 fr.) The third and concluding volume of M. Deslandres's constitutional history of France since 1789 covers the history of the Third Republic from 1870 to 1879. The resignation of MacMahon he regards as marking the definitive triumph of republican government in France over rival monarchical systems. At the end of the book there is a short passage upon the constitutional amendments of 1879, 1884, and 1926. In scope and character this volume closely resembles the first two volumes of the series, reviewed in this journal (XXXIX, 519-20). Somewhat freer rein is here given to the author's personal opinions. He has little admiration for Gambetta and the more radical republicans of the 1870's. He looks upon the Constitution of 1875 as a wise compromise which in practice was perverted almost immediately. Intended by its framers to divide power between the president, the senate, and the chamber of deputies, control quickly passed into the hands of the popular chamber. This he regards as an unfortunate development. To the reviewer it appears that the change in question was a nearly inevitable and on the whole desirable transformation. Thereby the power to control the government of France was concentrated in a body of men often turbulent, selfish, and short-sighted, but in emergencies capable of prompt action and quickly responsive to public opinion. FRANK MALOY ANDERSON.

Documents diplomatiques français, 1871-1914. Série I (1871-1901), tome VIII, 20 mars, 1890-28 août, 1891. [Ministère des Affaires étrangères, Commission de publication des Documents relatifs aux origines de la guerre de 1914.] (Paris, Imprimerie nationale, 1938, pp. xxxviii, 736.) Released from Bismarck's spell and relying upon community of interests with Russia, French foreign policy under Ribot's direction became unmistakably more self-confident. These documents are often illuminating both in regard to its aims and to the methods of achieving them. For the Empress Frederick's ill-starred visit to Paris and the resulting crisis they help to clarify a good many points and are probably complete. On Anglo-French relations, hitherto obscure in this period, the most important material deals with Ribot's partially successful effort to secure gains in Madagascar and Tunis by capitalizing Salisbury's self-confessed error in not informing France during the negotiation of the Zanzibar-Heligoland Treaty. The Ribot-Billot correspondence and ministerial memoranda throw much light upon the attempt of France to dissuade Italy from renewing the Triple Alliance and to learn the terms of that treaty. The new documents relating to the rapprochement with Russia are, in the main, disappointing, adding little of first-rate importance to the *Livre jaune* of 1918. There is much supporting evidence for the generally accepted view that Russia's attitude was largely determined by England's apparent tie-up with the Triple Alliance; indeed, Ribot regarded this factor in Russia's policy, like her ambitions in the Balkans, as a reason for caution (No. 531). For the views of Russian army circles as early as July 16, 1891, in regard to the terms of a military alliance, on mobilization and war, and on the terms of a victorious peace, Boisdeffre's report of a conversation with Obruchev, the chief of the Russian general staff, is very interesting (No. 424). E. MALCOLM CARROLL.

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NORTHERN EUROPE

O. J. Falnes

Det Nordslesvigske Spørgsmaal, 1864-1879: Aktstykker og Breve til Belysning af den Danske Regerings Politik. Paa Udenrigsministeriets Foranstaltning udgivet af AAGE FRIIS. Volume IV, *Fra. 1. Januar 1878 til 31. December 1879.* (Copenhagen, Levin & Munksgaard, 1938, pp. 465, Kr. 15.) This fourth volume contains 290 documents from Danish collections. A fifth will contain others which have come to light during the years of publication, too late to be included in their normal place. A supplement, *Europa, Danmark, og det Nordslesvigske Spørgsmaal*, will print the relevant papers from foreign archives, except the German, which have already been published in German collections. On the basis of these materials Professor Friis published in 1921 the first volume of his work, *Den Danske Regering og Nordslesvigs Genforening med Danmark*, and the second volume will appear soon. Most of the material in this volume, as in the others of the series, is of interest only to Danes or to the few foreign specialists to whom every scrap of evidence on this, the absorbing problem of Danish national and foreign policy, is of value. For others the interest of the work will lie in the light it throws upon the general problem of the small state in relation to powerful neighbors and especially on the situation of Denmark in case of war in the Baltic (see the analysis in No. 1354). Finally, attention should be called to the cavalier way in which Germany and Austria abrogated that part of Article V of the Treaty of Prague of 1866 which was of special concern to Denmark. Document No. 1493 contains the reasons put forward for this action by Bülow, the German secretary of state for foreign affairs. They culminate in the admission that the treaty provision in question was based on the principle of nationality, "which neither Germany nor Austria could regard with favorable eyes", and that Germany was now in no way minded to contribute to a political order resting on that principle.

LAWRENCE D. STEEFEL.

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GERMANY, SWITZERLAND, AND HUNGARY

E. N. Anderson

Francis Lambert of Avignon, 1487-1530: A Study in Reformation Origins. By ROY LUTZ WINTERS. (Philadelphia, United Lutheran Publication House, 1938, pp. iv, 177, \$2.00.) Dr. Winters has made a valuable contribution to the history of the Reformation in his excellent biography of Francis Lambert of Avignon. It was not an easy book to write because the material on Lambert's life is scanty and singularly lacking in information. While he was a man of ability and prominence, he had little determining influence on the course of the Reformation. Yet he was so industrious as a writer, preacher, teacher, and protagonist of reform that Dr. Winters has done a real service in bringing his deeds to the light. Francis Lambert started his career as a Franciscan friar in Avignon. Soon he became a noted preacher, but, discontented with conditions in the cloister, he finally ran away, probably in May, 1522. He wandered through Switzerland and Germany, meeting Zwingli at Zürich, Luther at Wittenberg, and Bucer at Strasbourg. Finally in 1526 he was invited by

Landgrave Philip to come to Hesse. There his first task was to take the lead in the Homberg Synod of 1526, at which the Catholics were declared defeated. He composed a plan of organization for the Hessian church that was never adopted because of Luther's influence. He continued to be active in Hesse as professor of theology at Marburg until his untimely death from the plague in 1530. Calvinists will be interested in the Presbyterian features of Lambert's plan for the organization of the church in Hesse and in his strong emphasis on predestination. Scotchmen will find his influence on Patrick Hamilton significant. Students of church history will be attracted by the scholarly way in which this biography is written.

HASTINGS EELLS.

Rococo: The Life and Times of Prince Henry of Prussia, 1726-1802. By A. E. GRANTHAM. (London, John Lane; New York, Appleton-Century, 1938, pp. xiii, 255, \$3.00.) An unpretentious work, barren of searching analysis and raising no claim for the originality of its scholarship, *Rococo* deals entertainingly with the lives and amours of royalty in eighteenth century Germany. Of course, Mrs. Grantham could have made the people, the army, or whatever else she pleased, the central object of her attention. Perhaps she should have done so in preference to royalty. But she is in fact the last of the Mohicans in her loyalty to kings and palaces. "For when these two great heirlooms of the past are handed over to extinction", she writes in her first paragraph, "much that is of the utmost value to mankind is apt to share their ruin." Hence, while there is practically no mention of commoners and of abodes that were less than palatial and no attempt to evaluate the play of economic forces or sketch the organization of social relations, there are detailed descriptions of the ways of lords and masters. From private correspondence and diaries the author has gleaned much gossip stuff, some parts amusing and others, if it is not *lèse-majesté* to say so, royally dull. But the book is eminently readable, if occasionally overwritten and lush, with decorative redundancies of style more numerous than the all-too-infrequent flashes of wit or deftly turned phrase. For what *Rococo* honestly is, a minor work in the school of the *petite histoire*, it is an intelligent and amusing addition to the already extensive literature on the subject.

LEO GERSHOY.

Der bayerisch-badische Gebietsstreit, 1825-1832. By Dr. LISELOTTE VON HOERMANN. (Berlin, Emil Ebering, 1938, pp. 226, 9.40 M.) This study deals in the main with Bavaria's endeavors to obtain the part of the Palatinate belonging to Baden, the counteraction on the part of the latter, and the policies of the great powers, German and foreign, toward the affair. The author, dealing exclusively with the diplomatic phases of the subject, bases her analysis on archival sources and does a thorough piece of work. She offers some side lights on the formation of the Zollverein.

Why Hitler came into Power: An Answer based on the Original Life Stories of Six Hundred of his Followers. By THEODORE ABEL. (New York, Prentice-Hall, 1938, pp. xi, 322, \$2.75.) Here ought to be a remarkably good book. Upon examination, it proves to be in fact a good one but less remarkable than its plan and subtitle would lead one to hope. In Germany in the summer of 1934 Professor Abel offered through the National Socialist party's own organization a number of cash prizes for the most detailed and trustworthy personal life histories of adherents of the Hitler movement. Six hundred of the autobiographies submitted in response to his offer were used as the basis of this study. In his introduction the author has classified and tabulated them. In Part I

he reviews the history of the movement. In Part II he analyzes its origins in discontent, ideology, and charismatic leadership. Throughout he presents the digested content of the autobiographies and quotes freely from them. In Part III he prints six of them in full. Ten pages of appendixes include a chronology of the party's rise to power and various statistical tables. The reviewer's disappointment arises from conditions beyond the author's control. Even six hundred life histories are a small sample, and these were four years old before they were printed. They must be genuine, for otherwise they could hardly be so insufferably dull; many of them, however, seem to protest too much their writers' virtue. The millions who have tacitly accepted the regime without ever joining the party are just as silent here as in the columns of the *Völkische Beobachter*. After reading the six autobiographies that are printed in full one no longer asks why more of them were not so treated, but the question posed in the title of the book would be left unanswered if the author had not already so ably "digested" the others.

CHESTER V. EASUM.

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ITALY

Gaudens Megaro

The Sixteenth-Century Duel: A Study in Renaissance Social History. By FREDERICK R. BRYSON. (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1938, pp. xxviii, 248, \$3.00.) Dr. Bryson's principal concern in this monograph is in investigating the sixteenth century Italian "theorists of the duel", of whom Levi and Gelli (*Bibliografia del duello*, 1903) and Kelso (*The Doctrine of the English Gentleman in the Sixteenth Century*, 1929) have published bibliographies. Though the sixteenth century writers consider all types of duels, they give special consideration to "the formal duel between two individuals for the proof or disproof of an alleged offense which reflects upon honor" (p. xxiv). These theorists seem to have been more concerned with the attending circumstances of duels than with the physical combat proper. We learn that the duel *alla macchia*, a duel fought without judges or rules, was outlawed by these authorities as being unethical. A duel was regarded as necessary only after all peaceful means of settlement had been exhausted, but once it was decided upon, the prescribed procedure of challenging, obtaining permission from authority, and procuring the field, the *padrini*, the judges, and so on had to be followed by all honorable men. Sticklers for procedure sometimes spent years in preparing for a duel, and the expense involved often ruined them financially. The combat itself had more rules than modern boxing, and technical decisions were not impossible. In the second part of his book Dr. Bryson studies the duel in relation to the logical and ethical problems to which it gave rise and its status under the law

and in the eyes of the church. He has included his overflow material in twelve factual appendixes of which the one on war is of timely interest.

FREDERICK P. MASCIOLI.

The Defense of Galileo of Thomas Campanella. For the first time translated and edited, with Introduction and Notes, by GRANT MCCOLLEY. [Smith College Studies in History.] (Northampton, Smith College, History Department, 1937, pp. xlv, 93, \$1.50.) Mr. McColley and the editors of the Smith College Studies in History are rendering a useful service to scholars in making available reprints and, where necessary, translations of documents of the seventeenth century bearing on the history of ideas, especially in science. Mr. McColley's translation of the rare and important *Apologia pro Galileo* by Campanella is particularly valuable, as this tract was not included in Thomas Salusbury's published volume of *Mathematical Collections and Translations* (1661) with the pro-Copernican writings by Foscarini, Galileo, and others, even though it belongs in that group by reason of the time of its writing and the important part it played in the thought of the seventeenth century. Mr. McColley's introduction not only gives the circumstances of its writing but also makes its significance better understood by briefly summarizing Campanella's life, character, and contributions and by bringing out the three closely allied movements in thought with which the *Apologia* was linked: "the emergence of modern empirical epistemology, the development of the idea of intellectual progress, and the controversy between 'Ancients and Moderns'". The English of the translation is readable and clear. But was it necessary to alter the order of some of the sentences, as the translator states that he has done, or to eliminate "unessential" words without indication in the text of where that was done?

DOROTHY STIMSON.

La condanna e l'esilio di Pietro Colletta. Edited by NINO CORTESE. (Rome, Regio Istituto per la Storia del Risorgimento Italiano, 1938, pp. xlviii, 533, 35 l.) Pietro Colletta (1775-1831) both made and wrote history. He served in turn the old regime in Naples, the French, and the restored government of Ferdinand I. In 1820-21 he aided in the attempt to establish a constitutional system, repressing the revolt of Sicily and serving as minister of war during the regency of the Duke of Calabria. When the parliamentary forces collapsed before the Austrians in 1821, Colletta remained in Naples, feeling secure against absolutist vengeance because he had not been an instigator of the revolution. Nevertheless he was selected for exile, more because of his remote sins against the Bourbon monarchy than for his actions in 1820-21. Indeed, he was never tried on a specific charge despite his repeated pleas that his case be heard before a regular court. From 1821 until his death ten years later Colletta lived in exile, the first two years in Brünn, the rest in Tuscany, where he wrote his *Storia del reame di Napoli dal 1734 al 1825*, a posthumous work which contributed powerfully to the undermining of the Bourbon regime. Nino Cortese, who has already produced a bibliography, a volume of letters, and a life of Colletta, here presents 561 documents and letters of the period of the condemnation and exile, with an appendix of 14 hitherto unpublished letters of the period 1815-20. These are drawn from thirty-two Italian archives, libraries, and museums, from the Spielberg museum at Brünn, and from the Vienna archives. The book is furnished with an introduction by the editor, painstaking notes, one index of persons referred to, and another of the

recipients of the letters. Of greatest interest are the letters to Gino Capponi relative to the publication of the History of Naples. HOWARD M. SMYTH.

I rapporti fra governo sardo e governo provvisorio di Lombardia durante la guerra del 1848, secondo nuovi documenti del R. Archivio di Stato in Torino. With an Introduction and Notes by TERESA BUTTINI. Edited by MARIA AVETTA. (Rome, Regio Istituto per la Storia del Risorgimento Italiano, 1938, pp. xl, 422, 25 l.) The political upheaval and war of 1848 gave the Italians some lessons of experience which enabled Cavour to bring into existence the Kingdom of Italy. The greatest difficulty, even of the Lombards and Piedmontese, who had so much in common, was to understand and trust each other. War having come, only the Piedmontese had in hand the means to win it. The men in power at Milan were at first too inebriated by the Five Days to see this. They quickly sobered up but continued to be uneasy lest the Piedmontese take advantage of their necessity merely to enlarge Piedmont and not to make Italy. Although there was undoubtedly an unregenerate element at Turin which would have been satisfied with the subjugation of Lombardy, it is now clear that the Piedmontese government and public were ready to make great sacrifices for the national cause. But they had a horror of republics and, as practical men, regarded a prompt fusion of northern Italy with Piedmont as necessary to win the war and the Milanese as chatterers who were contributing nothing to its success and only too apt to ruin everything by calling in the republican French. The present publication reveals the state of mind of Piedmontese officials sent to Milan on political and military missions—General Passalacqua, Gaetano Pareto, and Giacinto Provana di Collegno. All worked for fusion, but they also worked for a generous collaboration with the Provisional Government at Milan—the kind of collaboration out of which a new Italy was growing. In addition the editors have published a miscellany of new letters, including several from Cesare Balbo and Massimo d'Azeglio. Finally, they publish a series of letters from Ponzio Vaglia, roving agent of Piedmont and acute observer of opinion in Milan, Piacenza, Parma, Venice, Rome, and Naples during the campaign of 1848. KENT ROBERTS GREENFIELD.

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RUSSIA AND POLAND

Avrahm Yarmolinsky

Protiv istoricheskoi kontseptzii M. N. Pokrovskovo: Sbornik statei [against the historical conception of M. N. Pokrovsky: collection of essays]. Edited by I. U. BUDOVITZ. Volume I. (Moscow, Izdat. Akademii nauk, 1939, pp. 518, 18 r.) This volume, issued under the auspices of the Institute of History attached to the Academy of Sciences, denounces the "school" of the late commissar of education and describes many of his followers as "Trotzkyist-Bukharinist hirelings of fascism" who, in their heyday, were engaged in destroying the "historical front" and conducting counterrevolutionary sabotage in the institutions of learning, including the Institute of History. An article offering a general examination of Pokrovsky's historical views is followed by a dozen others which analyze the errors he committed in treating a variety of topics from the beginnings of Russian feudalism to the origin of the World War. The charges leveled against Pokrovsky may be summed up as follows: his views are in disagreement with those of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin, and hence they are *eo ipso* unscientific; his interpretation of Russian history is close to and dependent upon bourgeois historiography; he denied the objective nature of the science of history; he deviated from materialism and the dialectic; and his semi-Trotzkyist outlook was taken advantage of by enemies of socialism and resulted in "ideological sabotage".

Mezhdunarodnye otnosheniya v epokhu imperializma: Dokumenty iz arkhivov tzarskovo i vremennovo pravitel'stv, 1878-1917. Seriya tret'ya, 1914-1917 [international relations in the epoch of imperialism: documents from the archives of the imperial and provisional governments. Series 3, 1914-17]. Volume X. Compiled by L. A. TELESHEVA and others (Moscow, Gos. sotz.-ekon. izdat., 1938, pp. 646, 10 r.). This volume contains 508 items, covering the period of

January 14/1 to April 13/March 31, 1916. In addition to diplomatic correspondence there are three drafts of an Allied treaty with Persia and the minutes of four sessions of the Allied conference in Paris. This volume, like the earlier ones, is provided with separate indexes of names, correspondents, and subjects. A special feature is "a map of the partition of Asiatic Turkey". Further volumes of this series are in preparation.

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FAR EASTERN HISTORY

C. H. Peake

New Light on Chinese Society: An Investigation of China's Socio-economic Structure. By KARL AUGUST WITTFOGEL. (New York, International Secretariat, Institute of Pacific Relations, 1938, pp. 41.) This is "an account of the very significant research project . . . conducted during the last three years, under the joint auspices of the Institute of Pacific Relations and the International Institute of Social Research, now connected with Columbia University in New York".

Chung-kuo Chin-tai Shih [modern history of China]. By TSIANG T'ING-FU. (Changsha, Commercial Press, 1938, pp. 128). This brief volume summarizes

the interpretations of a leading student of modern Chinese history. Subsequent to his return from the United States, Dr. Tsiang became head of the history department at Tsing Hua and pioneered in the study of the Chinese diplomatic documents until his entrance into the National Government in 1936. The present essay was written in Hankow before the fall of the city and lacks footnotes, but the author's scholarly perspective and knowledge of the sources give it unique value. In his view China's chief problem during the last century has been that of modernizing to meet the West, and he traces the successive attitudes taken by the gentry and officials since 1839. He points out that in suppressing the Taipings with his Hunan braves, Tsêng Kuo-fan inadvertently created the evil of personal armies, the successors of which are hardly yet extinct. The summary of Li Hung-chang's policy is most trenchant and illuminating—his remarkable foresight, his frustrated efforts to develop sea power against Japan as the one inevitable enemy, and his irretrievable error in leading the Russian wolf into Manchuria, which set in train the Japanese conquest. Quotations from the memorials of the boastful opponents of Western ways provide a biting denunciation of them, even without comment from the author. Seen in this perspective, Sun Yat-sen's more thorough program of learning from the West, partly to avoid its errors, takes on proper significance as a step in the ever more adequate response to China's problem. The vigor of Dr. Tsiang's historical criticism shows how strongly the process continues. His book is written simply, as one of a series for wide circulation in China, and deserves the attention of all Western students. J. K. FAIRBANK.

The Development of Japan. By KENNETH SCOTT LATOURETTE. Fourth edition, revised. (New York, Macmillan, 1938, pp. xi, 272, \$2.50.)

Imperial Japan, 1926-1938. By A. MORGAN YOUNG. (New York, William Morrow, 1938, pp. 328, \$3.00.) Morgan Young was for ten years editor of the *Japan Chronicle* and then was refused readmission to Japan after he had gone to England on leave. Reading this book, one can understand why a semidictatorial government should prefer his absence. He is a mordant critic, the bite being both in manner and content. He is hostile, in the sense that his judgments on Japan after more than fifteen years of residence are unfavorable; but it would be difficult for any advocate of contemporary Japan to prove him unfair. All that might be said against his book is that he has made a prosecutor's case. It is the truth, if not the whole truth. The book may be described as a sequel to the author's *Japan in Recent Times*, which dealt with the previous fifteen years. It is less a history than a chronological selection of chapters of a decade of history, the general theme being the growth of the aggressive militaristic expansionism which has come to climax in the war with China. He sketches the disintegration of the short-lived postwar liberalism, the resurgence of army power and assertiveness, the conquest of Manchuria, the wave of internal terrorism, and finally the incursion into China as the attempt to effectuate the "continental policy". There are savage but vivid chapters on the political assassination which in a few years has cost Japan a number of its leading statesmen whose offense was that they tried to exercise restraints on an uncontrollable military clique and its fanatical satellites. NATHANIEL PEPPER.

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UNITED STATES HISTORY

E. C. Burnett

GENERAL

The Log of Christopher Columbus' First Voyage to America in the Year 1492 as copied out in brief by Bartholomew Las Casas, one of his Companions. (New York, William R. Scott, 1938, [pp. 88], \$2.00.) The translation here used for the well-known Abstract of Columbus's Journal by Las Casas (not "one of his Companions") appears to be Samuel Kettell's of 1827, with some but not all of the corrections made in A. W. Lawrence and Jean Young's *Narratives of the Discovery of America* (1931). For instance, the *pardelas* (petrels) that Columbus sighted in mid-ocean appear as "sandpipers", which was one of Sir Clements Markham's contributions to pelagic ornithology. The real feature of this edition is John O'Hara Cosgrave's illustrations of life aboard the Columbus fleet. These contain several anachronisms and inaccuracies. The compass is wrong; navigation instruments not invented for centuries after are shown; you don't take the sun with an astrolabe by squinting through a peephole;

lombards are confused with falconets; dead-eyes are big enough for a 3000-ton ship; and the deck galley is so placed that any pitching would upset it. But the main facts of ships and seamen are accurately portrayed, and the drawings certainly make the text of the journal much more vivid. The book concludes with the journal for October 14, 1492. S. E. MORISON.

The Second Voyage of Christopher Columbus from Cadiz to Hispaniola and the Discovery of the Lesser Antilles. By S. E. MORISON. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1939, pp. 112, \$2.50.) In this little book Mr. Morison makes no pretense of studying any phase of the relation of the new-found transatlantic lands with eastern Asia. He makes some references to the ability of Columbus to observe latitude and to the reason for setting a more southerly course on the second voyage than on the first. These references may be passed over with the observation that the explanations may be other than the ones indicated by Mr. Morison. The author had two reasons for writing the book: one was to trace the route of Columbus among the Lesser Antilles; the other was to ascertain the names Columbus gave the various islands. Mr. Morison has sailed small boats off the coast of New England and Nova Scotia for many years. He is therefore familiar with the problems involved in operating boats with sails. This knowledge he employed to advantage in sailing over the route of Columbus among the Antilles. His method is certainly the one best calculated to solve this particular problem. While following Columbus's route, Mr. Morison consulted numerous sources to determine the names Columbus gave the various islands. He devotes one chapter to listing the authorities he consulted. Very surprisingly he omits Oviedo's *Historia* and Waldseemüller's 1507 map. Mr. Morison has produced a delightful little book that is well worth reading by anyone interested in the work of Columbus. It is a valuable contribution to Columbus literature. May Mr. Morison someday have his desired opportunity to continue his study of the Columbus second voyage along the coasts of Cuba and Jamaica. GEORGE E. NUNN.

References on American Colonial Agriculture. By EVERETT E. EDWARDS. [Bibliographical Contributions, No. 33.] (Washington, United States Department of Agriculture Library, mimeographed, 1938, pp. v, 101.)

References on Agriculture in the Life of the Nation. Id. [No. 34.] (*Ibid.*, 1939, pp. v, 73.) These are valuable additions to the United States Department of Agriculture's bibliographical series. The following have been brought out in second editions: No. 25, *References on the Significance of the Frontier in American History* (pp. 99); No. 26, *Selected References on the History of Agriculture in the United States* (pp. 43); No. 27, *A List of American Economic Histories* (pp. 43). The value of these bibliographies is greatly enhanced by the liberal use of significant passages from the works cited and from reviews of them. Good indexes to the bibliographies make their materials readily available.

School Histories at War: A Study of the Treatment of our Wars in the Secondary School History Books of the United States and in those of its Former Enemies. By ARTHUR WALWORTH. With an Introduction by Arthur M. Schlesinger. (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1938, pp. xx, 92, \$1.25.) The purpose of the compiler of these challenging textbook excerpts was "to direct lay and professional attention to the extremes of national prejudice to which the youth of the world are being exposed at the present time" (p. viii). He has revealed

in striking fashion the weakness of the textbook as the sole medium of effective school instruction. He has confined his selection to secondary textbooks because "it seems probable that they exert a greater influence on public opinion" (p. ix). The version of "the fabric of fact and fancy", "the story that has lingered", with which he introduces each chapter as representative of the popular concept of these wars attributable to the school, is, in part at least, derived from earlier school contacts reinforced and driven home at the higher level. Some of the author's criticisms of textbook writers are unsatisfactory space allotment, overemphasis upon emotion, "needlessly bloodthirsty" descriptions, the use of argument, whitewashing, failure to point the moral (as in the War with Mexico), the perpetuation of traditions, and "extreme statements". Mr. Walworth is prone to overlook the fact that the secondary school textbook must be attuned to the audience for whom it is designed, and this means an emphasis upon the emotional and the dramatic. He seems at times to reject altogether the formula that it is what was important to the people of the past that really matters. Many of these excerpts undoubtedly reflect the attitude and the relative importance attached to these happenings by the people of the past, however unpalatable they may be to contemporaries. Those concerned with the problem of sound historical instruction in the school should not overlook this "lively and readable" analysis or neglect the possibilities which its excerpts afford of a comparative study of writers of different nationalities in their efforts, as Professor Schlesinger so aptly phrases it, to shape education, "a domestic commodity not intended for export" (p. xiii).

DANIEL C. KNOWLTON.

Valley Forge. By HARRY EMERSON WILDES. (New York, Macmillan, 1938, pp. xiii, 337, \$3.50.) This work lies in a rather ill-defined borderland between purely local history and the general history of the American Revolutionary War. The author, as he states in his preface, sees the encampment at Valley Forge as "the central feature of the Revolution". He then endeavors to blend, in a single narrative, a picture of the background and character of the locality with an account of the life of Washington's army during those vital months. The result is a very readable book but one that leaves the serious historian unconvinced on at least two counts. In the first place, it may be questioned whether the author's enthusiasm for Valley Forge as a locality has not led him to overemphasize somewhat the indubitably important phase of the Revolution that took place there. Secondly, some readers are certain to wonder whether sound authority can be found for all the entertaining incidents that are chronicled. The author says in his preface that, in addition to more orthodox materials, he has used family traditions, legends, and even the reminiscences of old folk in the neighborhood. It is difficult to give him the credit that may be his due so long as he does not tell us in detail what parts of his account rest upon such unreliable sources and what parts upon authority that will stand a critical test.

TROYER S. ANDERSON.

The Delegate from New York, or, Proceedings of the Federal Convention of 1787 from the Notes of John Lansing, Jr. Edited by JOSEPH REESE STRAYER. (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1939, pp. viii, 125, \$2.00.) Two years after the publication of the fourth volume of Farrand's *Records* this additional material appears. It is regrettable that it could not have been included in the *Records*, but it must be said that the editor has done his work well. The introduction gives an admirable brief account of Lansing's life and a helpful statement concerning his attitude in the convention. The editing bears every

appearance of having been performed with great care and good judgment. The footnotes, which include references to Madison and to Yates, are helpful and are the product of much laborious attention to details. Just how much new light is thrown on the convention debates it is difficult to say. Perhaps the most significant fact, here made fairly clear, is that Madison was generally justified in using Yates's *Secret Proceedings* to correct or amplify his own manuscript; and there seems ground for deciding that in some instances at least he was warranted in his use of the journal for the same purpose. The editor calls special attention to a certain partisanship common to the note-makers: "Each writer had a tendency to suppress indiscrete [*sic*] and irritating remarks made by members of his own party, and to stress such remarks when made by the opposition." The Lansing notes certainly indicate the warmth, to use Randolph's word, in the heated discussions during the early days of July. Mr. Strayer's estimate of their value appears just: Some new or, let us say, some additional light is thrown on state jealousies, "and this is their chief value for the general historian"; they also help us in any attempt to "recreate the atmosphere of the Convention and to estimate the character of the leading delegates".

A. C. McLAUGHLIN.

American Fiction, 1774-1850: A Contribution toward a Bibliography. By LYLE H. WRIGHT. (San Marino, Huntington Library, 1939, pp. xviii, 246, \$3.50.) This is neither a collectors' bibliography, with discussion of varying editions, nor a complete check list, for it does not draw upon the resources of all libraries, nor does it include usually an examination of more than one copy of a title. It will prove, nevertheless, a helpful manual for compilers of complete bibliographies of American fiction.

STANLEY T. WILLIAMS.

The Romance of American Transportation. By FRANKLIN M. RECK. (New York, Crowell, 1938, pp. 253, \$2.50.) In seventeen swiftly flowing chapters Mr. Reck endeavors to trace the history of American transportation from the inauguration of Washington to the present. The conditions of transportation in 1789, the contributions of John Fitch, the story of Robert Fulton, and the introduction of steamboating on Western waters are the high lights of the first four chapters. In chapter v the spotlight is thrown on the National Road, and the Erie Canal forms the main theme in chapter vi. After devoting two chapters to railroad beginnings, the author describes the pageant of the packets from 1837 to the present. The growth of the railroad, the construction of the Union Pacific, regulation and the invention of safety devices, and railroad transportation in 1938 conclude the story of the iron horse. The remaining chapters deal with the automobile, busses and trucks, the airplane, and a bird's-eye view of transportation today and tomorrow. Written for the layman, the story is interestingly told and contains comparatively few errors, considering the sweeping scope of the book. The historian will find nothing new in it; its very brevity precludes its use as a reference work such as those of Dunbar or Hulbert. Many of the 149 pictures, charts, and maps are poor reproductions. The index is adequate, but there are no footnotes or bibliography.

WILLIAM J. PETERSEN.

Commercial Banking and the Stock Market before 1863. By JOSEPH EDWARD HEDGES. [The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science.] (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1938, pp. 164, xiv, \$1.50.) Students of American economic history have long been familiar with the structural

weaknesses of our financial and banking system as it operated under the National Banking Act. The concentration of the nation's banking reserves in New York City, the lending of a large part of those reserves in the securities markets in the form of call loans, the periodic freezing of those loans during times of financial stress, and the absence of any centralized responsibility for the banking system have all received extended treatment in the literature on the subject. In the monograph under consideration Professor Hedges shows that these features of our banking system had their origin much earlier than the Civil War period and that their emergence was intimately related to the rise of New York as a financial and commercial center. While the author has treated his subject in detail and has drawn the bulk of his data from primary sources, it is doubtful if his main conclusions add significantly to the material in Margaret Myers's *The New York Money Market*, Volume I, especially chapters II, VI, and VII. With so much to be done in the field of early American financial and banking history it seems too bad to have any duplication of effort.

HAROLD F. WILLIAMSON.

American History since 1865. By GEORGE M. STEPHENSON. (New York, Harper, 1939, pp. x, 682, \$3.50.) The truism that history must be rewritten by each generation involves the corollary proposition that recent history must be rewritten every few years. Each day's news forces a reinterpretation of the events of the recent past, and textbooks which essay the task of bringing history down to "the last Fireside Chat" are out of date before they reach the college bookstores. Obviously, Professor Stephenson has not said the final word, even for this generation, on Hoover Republicanism, the depression, or the New Deal. Many of the facts which are mentioned seem less important in the spring of 1939 than they did when written in the summer of 1938. No blame should attach to the author for this failure to foresee the future. Instead, he should be commended for his good selection of materials and for his ability to make a coherent and penetrating narrative from the welter of confusing issues. Aside from this, the outstanding merit of this volume is the emphasis placed upon rural problems, religious developments, sports, and immigrant groups. These factors, frequently overlooked or underemphasized in comparable books, here come into their own. In general the author's viewpoint seems to be rural rather than urban, liberal rather than conservative. Designed for students rather than the general public, this volume can be prescribed as an adequate, balanced, and nourishing diet for undergraduates.

W. B. HESSELTINE.

American Shipping Policy. By PAUL MAXWELL ZEIS. (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1938, pp. vii, 254, \$3.00.) "The usual pressure groups appeared before the commission with the usual arguments concerning the value of the foreign trade fleet and the need of some form of government aid." This sentence on page 43 summarizes Dr. Zeis's theory about shipping legislation. The "usual" pressure groups—shipbuilders, shipowners, naval officers, and seamen—demanded a merchant marine in the interests of trade promotion and national defense. Following this text, Dr. Zeis has analyzed in most interesting fashion the shifting background of our merchant marine policy. His critically thorough examination of all the sources has given us a new and more complete understanding of our shipping development. He indicates how the Shipping Board failed to realize the strength of certain shipowners and shipbuilders and played into their hands to the discredit of the government's shipping policy. The

author doubts whether the present Maritime Commission can pursue a different path despite the increasing strength of two pressure groups—the seamen and the traveling and shipping public—which may act as the necessary check and balance to the shipowning and shipbuilding groups. The reader is left by Dr. Zeis with one possible inference: since all this direct and indirect aid was and must be wasteful and unwise, the only solution is government ownership and operation. Has Dr. Zeis examined sufficiently the implications of this attitude? Isn't the shipping industry still a trading industry? Can government agencies bargain effectively with either shippers or labor in this highly competitive international industry? Nowhere does there appear in this otherwise excellent book the name of the respected, long-time leader of the labor pressure group, Andrew Furuseth. A. A. LAWRENCE.

The American Politician. Edited by J. T. SALTER. (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1938, pp. xvi, 412, \$3.50.) This is a collection of brief biographies of present-day political leaders.

It costs to be President. By HENRY L. STODDARD. (New York, Harper, 1938, pp. xiii, 340, \$3.50.) The author brings together a large amount of heterogeneous material and anecdotal data about Presidents of the United States.

American Government. By WILLIAM ANDERSON. (New York, Henry Holt, 1938, pp. vii, 1080, \$3.75.)

Addresses upon the American Road, 1933-1938. By HERBERT HOOVER. (New York, Scribner's, 1938, pp. viii, 390, 75 cents.) This collection of speeches reveals the former President's thought on a wide variety of subjects, domestic and foreign.

Ratification of the Twenty-first Amendment to the Constitution of the United States: State Convention Records and Laws. Compiled by EVERETT SOMERVILLE BROWN. (Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 1938, pp. xi, 718, \$6.00.)

Court over Constitution: A Study of Judicial Review as an Instrument of Popular Government. By EDWARD S. CORWIN. (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1938, pp. xi, 273, \$2.50.) While the five essays in this volume do not form a completely unified survey of the history of judicial review, all of them deal with one or another aspect of that subject, and all represent a very distinct attitude toward it. The greatest contribution is to be found in the long opening essay. Here Professor Corwin argues effectively that the problem worth discussing is not whether the Fathers intended judicial review but what kind and how much they contemplated. He makes out an excellent case for the conclusion that judicial review as we know it is the product of the courts, not of the convention of 1787. The authors of the Constitution thought of the role of the courts, when they thought of it at all, as a very limited one. This essay will have to be given careful consideration by every future historian of the beginnings of judicial review. The second essay continues the argument of the first in a more general fashion, and the third is a plea for nationalism and nation-state co-operation. The fourth is a devastating criticism of the income tax case of 1895—a model of what judicial review should not be. A brief comment upon the deification of the Constitution and some discussion of the latter-day realization that the future of that document will depend upon the extent to which it is so interpreted as to meet the needs of popular government in a changing world conclude the volume. BENJAMIN F. WRIGHT, JR.

The Supreme Court and the Constitution. By CHARLES A. BEARD. Library edition. (New York, published for the Facsimile Library by the Paisley Press, distributed by Barnes and Noble, 1938, pp. vii, 127, \$2.50.)

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NEW ENGLAND AND MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

New York's Making seen through the Eyes of my Ancestors. By MARY DE PEYSTER RUTGERS MCCREA CONGER (VANAMEE). (New York, Scribner's, 1938, pp. xi, 119, \$1.75.)

Early Colonial Taxation in Delaware. By M. M. DAUGHERTY. (Wilmington, Delaware Tercentenary Commission, 1938, pp. 51.)

Colonial Military Organization in Delaware, 1638-1776. By LEON DE VALINGER, JR. (*Ibid.*, pp. 55.)

Delaware—The First State in the Union. By GEORGE H. RYDEN. (*Ibid.*, pp. 33.)

A History of Third Parties in Pennsylvania, 1840-1860. By Sister M. THEOPHANE GEARY. (Washington, Catholic University of America, 1938, pp. xi, 274.) This monograph makes a general survey of third party movements in Pennsylvania during the score of years before the Civil War. The author investigated the origins of the Anti-Masonic Party, the Liberty Party, the Nativists and their descendants, the Know-Nothings, and the Freesoilers; related the political activities and ideas of these minor parties to the national major parties, the Democrats and the Whigs; and followed their successes through the cross currents of state politics. The task of evaluating the influence of these crusading minor parties was virtually impossible, but the author was able to suggest in the final chapter, "The Triumph of the Liberty Movement", that at least the idea of the nonextension of slavery into the territories was bequeathed by the Liberty Party to the Republicans. The work is impressive but not exhaustive. Too many party movements have been treated to permit a complete study of any one. The study, moreover, seems to have been made for certain areas—Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, and a few other regions—rather than for every county. The author has, however, made a contribution that will be valuable to students of political history in Pennsylvania. The form, literary style, bibliography, index, and appendixes are entirely adequate. R. J. FERGUSON.

His Father's House: The Story of George Alexander Kohut. By REBEKAH KOHUT. [The Alexander Kohut Memorial Foundation.] (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1938, pp. viii, 246, \$3.00.) Alexander Kohut, a learned Rabbi descended from a line of scholars and himself already famous, came from Hungary to New York City in 1885. He at once made his presence felt in the city and was a recognized leader in Jewish circles until his death in 1894. His son George, the subject of the present biography, was eleven years old at the time of his arrival in this country. The story of the family and its fortunes, told here in lively fashion, is full of material interesting for the history of New York City. When the scene shifts to Europe, there are entertaining glimpses of famous German and Austrian Jewish scholars. From first to last the record is mainly one of academic life and achievement. In frail health from his childhood, by nature a poet and in character a saint, George Kohut became a distinguished scholar. As teacher, organizer of a flourishing summer camp for boys, director of the Columbia Grammar School (an interesting chapter), prolific author with a bibliography covering some thirty pages, collector of rare books and items (his remarkable Heine Collection is in the Yale Library), and originator of large projects fully realized, the guiding motive of his whole career was loyalty to his father's ideals and the cherishing of his father's memory. The Alexander Kohut Memorial Foundation for research and publication, his own project realized with the co-operation of members of his family, has

already done great service in the field of Semitic science. The biography is brilliantly written, a singularly vivid and sympathetic picture of the boy and man, set in a historical framework of wide interest. CHARLES C. TORREY.

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- ERNA RISCH. Joseph Crelius, Immigrant Broker. *New Eng. Quar.*, June.
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SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

The Peopling of Virginia. By R. BENNETT BEAN. (Boston, Chapman and Grimes, 1938, pp. viii, 302, \$3.00.) The author of this survey has enjoyed a long and in some ways notable career in anatomy and is at present professor of anatomy at the University of Virginia. Part I of his book comprises a short history of the peopling of Virginia. In reading it one finds himself plunged into a desert of strict factuality coupled with merciless compression. As a reference work for particular facts, geographical, historical, and personal, it may well pass muster. Part II, the major portion of the book (pp. 59-238), is devoted to the short histories of the separate counties of Virginia. While a consecutive reading of the first part is difficult, a similar perusal of this section would probably prove impossible to most readers. Much would be gained, in fact, if the materials here contained were represented in the form of tables or graphs. The center of gravity of the book might be expected to lie in Part III, which deals with physical measurements. Such an expectation, however, is not realized. The value of the measurements is vitiated by a disregard of the mean square deviation. We read, for example (p. 256), that the "cephalic index of old Virginian men varies from 77.4 to 78.5, that of European men is 79.6, of Asiatics 80.0, of African 75.0" . . ." It is surprising to find a battle-scarred anatomist like Professor Bean perpetrating a statement such as this. Considering the well-known and enormous variability of the cephalic index in Europe, Asia, and Africa, what information could this statement convey in the absence of any reference to the overlapping in the cephalic indexes of the several continents which only a specification of variability could furnish? The same stricture could be passed on the other sets of measurements. The book contains a very carefully prepared index.

ALEXANDER GOLDENWEISER.

Eighteenth Century North Carolina Imprints, 1749-1800. By DOUGLAS C. MCMURTRIE. (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1938, pp. vii, 198, \$4.00.)

McGillivray of the Creeks. By JOHN WALTON CAUGHEY. [The Civilization of the American Indian.] (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1938, pp. xvi, 385, \$3.50.) The history of the southern frontier of the United States during the troubled decade following the Revolution is inseparably linked with Alexander McGillivray. This frail and sickly son of a Creek-French mother and a Scotch father was neither a soldier nor a businessman; yet before death ended his career at the age of thirty-four he had served England, Spain, and the United States in positions of responsibility, had determined for a number of years the policy of the Creek nation, and had become the most influential border character of his generation. While admitting that McGillivray may be

censured for accepting concurrently salaries from Spain and the United States and presents from the English, the author contends that he was not a mercenary man, for he could have exacted much more from those who sought to purchase his influence. To his own people, the Creeks, he was ever loyal, and he deserves a place in the list of great American patriots. Mr. Caughey devotes fifty-seven pages to a sketch of McGillivray's life and a brief résumé and interpretation of the documents that are given in the remainder of the volume. Although most of the documents are letters written by or to McGillivray, other communications are inserted where additional information is necessary to complete the story. The material is arranged chronologically, and the reader is aided by the editor's introductory interpretations and by various descriptive headings. The author has drawn upon an imposing list of sources, including the archives at Seville, Madrid, Mexico City, and Havana, the Bancroft Library and the Library of Congress, and the American State Papers. The editing has been carefully done, and there is much explanatory material in the footnotes. The volume constitutes a substantial contribution to the history of the Old South.

RUPERT N. RICHARDSON.

Slave Insurrections in the United States, 1800-1865. By JOSEPH CEPHAS CARROLL. (Boston, Chapman and Grimes, 1938, pp. 229, \$2.00.) The underlying purpose of this study is evidently to show that the Negro slave was not a docile creature, that he chafed continually under his bondage, and that he repeatedly resorted to force in an effort to gain his freedom. The author has sifted an amazing amount of newspaper and documentary material in order to bring to light insurrectionary movements in all the Southern states, and, as a result of this extensive research, an impressive number of disruptive plots and movements are referred to. The author devotes particular attention to the Gabriel, Vesey, and Turner episodes, and it is in connection with these that his narrative achieves greatest merit and interest. His enumeration of other conspiracies is rather monotonous. While he is to be commended for the extensiveness of his research, it seems to the reviewer that his basic thesis is weakened by a number of factors: first, many of the insurrectionary conspiracies had white leadership; second, comparatively few of the plots cited by the author actually developed into uprisings, and those which did materialize were, with a very few exceptions, small-scale enterprises; third, the majority of exposures of plots were made by Negroes; fourth, there is a definite possibility that many of the alleged conspiracies rested more on rumor than on reality. For instance, squeamish whites of Mississippi, South Carolina, or Texas, thoroughly aroused by revelations of the Turner conspiracy in Virginia, might readily interpret any slight irregularity among slaves of their own vicinage as a plot to rebel, and support for their suspicions might be gained from the testimony of slaves who were moved by fear of death or promise of freedom to give "correct" answers to the leading questions of their white interrogators. In a considerable number of cases reports of insurrectionary plots must have rested on such flimsy evidence.

B. I. WILEY.

John Hanson and the Inseparable Union: An Authentic Biography of a Revolutionary Leader, Patriot, and Statesman. By JACOB A. NELSON. (Boston, Meador Publishing Company, 1939, pp. 146, \$2.00.) In 1932 there appeared a biography of John Hanson of Maryland which commemorated him as the first President of the United States, despite the fact that he had eight predecessors as president of the Continental Congress and that Thomas McKean held the position

when the Articles of Confederation were ratified. Mr. Nelson is unaware of this earlier book, but in like manner he seeks to inflate a minor figure to a size justifying the appellation, "that giant statesman of Maryland". The present book is in the biographical tradition established by Parson Weems, although Mr. Nelson, unlike other modern emulators of the parson who write of revolutionary heroes, makes no effort to befuddle readers, reviewers, and prize committees with scholarly trappings. There are no footnotes, and a bibliography is obtainable upon request to author or publisher. The author has read some general history but apparently very little in the monograph literature of the past few decades. Hence there are many errors of assumption, interpretation, and omission, but no review, however long, could make the necessary qualifications and corrections. Hanson was undoubtedly influential in Maryland politics and in determining Maryland's attitude toward Congress. But the account given in this book distorts Maryland's relationship to the ratification of the Articles of Confederation and the creation of the national domain. No one man or group of men was solely responsible for the outcome. More evidence than is likely ever to be found would be needed to justify the author's statement that "in history, the American Union and John Hanson are inseparable. The work of the latter made the former possible." MERRILL JENSEN.

The Negro in the Civil War. By HERBERT APTHEKER. (New York, International Publishers, 1938, pp. 48, 10 cents.) This little volume would make an excellent Emancipation Day oration before an audience composed of Negroes, Marxists, and descendants of William Lloyd Garrison. It is pithy. It is written in lucid, vigorous style. It is interesting. It reflects odium and scorn upon the slavocracy and the "Wall Street imperialists". It pours the sweet oil of uncritical praise upon those whose bonds were broken by the "great rebellion"—in fact the "rebellion" is said to have been "foiled essentially" by the "internal revolt" of the slaves. And then there is a perorational prediction of revolution. The author's history, however, falls far short of his eloquence. He goes to disproportionate length to show that the slaves chafed under their bondage, that the South was not unprotected from the Negroes during the war, and that slaves gave effective aid to Northern soldiers—facts that have previously been presented by several historians. He attaches undue importance to the part played by Negro soldiers in the Union army. He errs in saying that "the testimony as to how well they fought is well nigh unanimous" (p. 37). The author has utterly inadequate grounds for saying that "200,000 armed Negroes shattered the slaveocracy's morale and tore away its foundation" (p. 35). In these and in a number of other instances the author overexerts himself—and the evidence—to portray the Negro of Civil War times in aggressive, heroic role. Less colorful, but more substantial, is the picture, as otherwise drawn, of the average slave waiting opportunistically for Northern armies to bring freedom close enough for him to grasp it. B. I. WILEY.

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WESTERN TERRITORIES AND STATES

- Father Louis Hennepin's Description of Louisiana, Newly discovered to the Southwest of New France by Order of the King.* Translated from the Original Edition by MARION E. CROSS. With an Introduction by GRACE LEE NUTE. [Minnesota Society of the Colonial Dames of America.] (Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1938, pp. xvii, 190, \$3.50.) This narrative of travel, published in French at Paris in 1683, contains the earliest detailed account of the upper Mississippi River territory. Until now only one English version, that by John G. Shea in 1880, has been printed, and today his translation is almost as difficult to obtain as the original itself. Hence the Minnesota Colonial Dames had

a double reason for sponsoring a new English edition. Miss Cross gives her readers a rather free translation in which long sentences have been broken up, paragraph and chapter divisions supplied, and chapter headings inserted. Despite this departure from the original, very few inaccuracies have resulted. In the introduction Grace Lee Nute contributes a brief but enlightening character sketch of Father Hennepin. She explains the friar's exaggerations and innuendoes (e.g., pp. 14, 24, and 30) as propaganda for his party at the king's court. Perhaps her supposition is right in this instance. The many falsehoods, however, in Hennepin's later works, *New Discovery* and *New Voyage*, are explainable only if the author is considered as a "pathological case". Such is the conclusion of his latest critic, Jean Delanglez, in a scholarly article, "Hennepin's Voyage to the Gulf of Mexico" (*Mid-America*, January, 1939). An affliction of this sort might reasonably have resulted from the priest's suffering in the wilderness. The make-up of this book is a credit to the University of Minnesota Press. A supposed portrait of Hennepin, two maps, and an index supplement the text.

RAPHAEL N. HAMILTON.

Old Fort Michilimackinac. Reproductions of Two Maps from the Papers of General Thomas Gage in the William L. Clements Library, with a Reconstructed Drawing of the Fort by RAYMOND MCCOY, and a Foreword by KENNETH ROBERTS. (Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 1938, pp. 12, 50 cents.) This is a valuable and beautifully printed compilation of fundamental material dealing with the history of old Fort Michilimackinac on the site of present-day Mackinaw City, Michigan. Included in the brochure are: a selection from Kenneth Roberts's *Northwest Passage*; a brief history of the fort by Howard H. Peckham of the William L. Clements Library staff; a letter from Captain Glazier at Mackinac to General Gage, June 10, 1769; a useful list of the French and British commandants of the fort, 1715-81; the contemporary maps of the fort drawn by Lieutenant Magra in 1766 and by Lieutenant Nordberg in 1769; and an idealized reconstructed view of the fort, based on the Magra map, drawn by Raymond McCoy. JOSEPH and ESTELLE BAYLISS.

Historical Documents relating to New Mexico, Nueva Vizcaya, and Approaches thereto, to 1773. Collected by ADOLPH F. A. BANDELIER and FANNY R. BANDELIER. English Translations. Edited with Introduction and Annotations by CHARLES WILSON HACKETT. Volume III. (Washington, Carnegie Institution, 1937, pp. xii, 532, \$3.00.) A quarter of a century elapsed between the time when the Bandeliers initiated the labor of transcribing, in Seville, the Spanish documents pertaining to the region and the period included in these volumes and the publication of the present volume. It was originally proposed to present both the Spanish and the English documents and to issue the work in four volumes, but this plan was altered after the appearance of the second volume, so that Volume III, in translation only, concludes the series. For the sources of the Spanish history of our Southwest and the adjacent territories nothing more important than this great work has thus far been presented, and especially is this true of the history of New Mexico. There is now made available to students, for the first time, a veritable mine of original material offered under the general caption "Miscellaneous Documents relating primarily to New Mexico in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries". While the Bandeliers are accredited with the collection presented in these volumes, much more material than they were able to gather in Spain before Mr. Bandelier's death has been added by Dr. Hackett from various other sources, the inclusion of

which has added vastly to the importance of the work. Therefore, while the credit of initiating the project and of carrying it forward under many difficulties goes to the Bandeliers, students everywhere must acknowledge their indebtedness to Dr. Hackett for the scholarly manner in which he has performed the arduous task of editing and annotating this splendid series.

F. W. HODGE.

Private Libraries in Creole Saint Louis. By JOHN FRANCIS McDERMOTT. (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1938, pp. xii, 186, \$3.00.) The author of this book insists that the early travel writers—French, American, and English—were wrong in describing Saint Louis as crude, isolated, and primitive. His preliminary essay on cultural conditions among the Creoles proves that, on the contrary, Saint Louis was the thriving center of the entire upper Mississippi fur trade, inhabited by intelligent Frenchmen and Creoles, many of them well educated and thoroughly in touch with the outside world. He marshals a respectable number of early authors to substantiate his theory and lists many Creoles who left records of voyages to France and visits to various American cities in the United States. His most irrefutable proofs, however, are the books these men owned and read—books that would have appealed only to persons of a degree of education and culture. With scholarly patience he combed the French and Spanish archives of Saint Louis for records of the settlement of estates that showed the possession of books and in this way was able to trace fifty-six libraries owned by Creoles between 1764 and 1842 and four others of slightly later date. He describes them as fully as the records permit, enumerating the titles and giving a short biography of the owners. He found that of all the persons who established themselves in Saint Louis between 1764 and 1800 (its white population was 669 in the latter year) fifty-six heads of families owned books—a total of some 1350 volumes—and that at the time of the Louisiana Purchase in 1803 there were in private libraries some two to three thousand books, exclusive of duplicates. Professor McDermott's excellent spade work has helped materially to build the sure foundation of research, upon which may be erected someday the definitive account of what America owes to French culture and thought. EDWARD LAROCQUE TINKER.

Sequoyah. By GRANT FOREMAN. [The Civilization of the American Indian.] (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1938, pp. 90, \$1.50.) In this booklet Mr. Foreman has skillfully assembled virtually all the known data regarding the half-breed Cherokee Cadmus who endowed his people with letters. There seems now little reason to doubt that Sequoyah's father, as Judge Samuel C. Williams and some others have contended, was Nathaniel Gist, son of the Christopher Gist II who was Washington's guide on the Ohio in 1753. Nothing has been found, however, to indicate that Gist ever acknowledged Sequoyah as his son or ever aided him in any way; and the strongest prop in support of this reputed paternity is the Gist family tradition. Some apparently irreconcilable dates and incidents still need adjustment and clarification. It is curious that though the alternative name of George Guess was borne by Sequoyah throughout his life, the legendary "George Guess, a pedlar", often named as his father, has never been identified. Moreover, the generally accepted birthdate of 1775 for Sequoyah does not accord well with the undisputed birthdate of 1789 for his first child; and even the suggestion of 1773 for the former hardly meets the requirements of the case. It is possible that further research will reveal to us more of the life and labor of this marvelous genius; but there is

enough in this admirable little work to assure him a far wider recognition than he has yet received.

W. J. GHENT.

Barthélemi Tardiveau, a French Trader in the West: Biographical Sketch, including Letters from B. Tardiveau to St. John de Crèvecoeur, 1788-1789. By HOWARD C. RICE. [Historical Documents, Institut Français de Washington.] (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1938, pp. xi, 90, \$2.25.) Many of the main facts regarding the career of Barthélemi Tardiveau in Kentucky and the Illinois country have been related by a number of writers on the early history of the Middle West, but Mr. Rice in "his story" has presented new and important documentary evidence. The thirteen letters in the volume, found among the papers of St. John de Crèvecoeur, discuss politics in Kentucky, dangers from the Indians, argiculture, cotton growing and the possibility of manufacturing in Kentucky and Cumberland, lay and ecclesiastical quarrels in the Illinois villages, and trade with New Orleans. Among the various memoirs submitted to the French government at the close of the Confederation period describing the advantages France would gain by recovering Louisiana was *Observations sur le Pays de l'Ouest*. The author of this significant memorial has heretofore been unknown. In his letter of January 15, 1789, Tardiveau refers to it as *My Memorial on the Mississippi* and states that Gardoqui had read it. A copy was sent by Lord Dorchester to Lord Sydney (1789), and its contents were known to several members of Congress. Historians are indebted to Mr. Rice for this contribution on the authorship of the memoir. The translations have been well done. The statement that the voyages of Tardiveau and Honoré (1782) were "the first buddings of intercourse from the Western country with New Orleans" (p. 3) is incorrect, since this commerce had been carried on for a decade or longer. Drumon's Lick (p. 3) should be Drinnon's Lick. Clark's followers in 1781 were not "Virginia regiments".

JAMES ALTON JAMES.

Bricks without Straw: The Story of Linfield College. By JONAS A. JONASSON. (Caldwell, Caxton Printers, 1938, pp. 215, \$1.50.) This study is a running account of the establishment, growth, and development of Linfield College from the middle of the nineteenth century to date. The author, himself an alumnus and now a member of the faculty, has made the study warmly human. Struggling heroically through its early periods with boys and girls in both elementary and secondary education, emerging from one financial and internal crisis to plunge into another, the institution is finally recognized as an accredited college.

ZORA KLAIN.

Robert Gordon Cousins. By JACOB A. SWISHER. [Iowa Biographical Series.] (Iowa City, State Historical Society of Iowa, 1938, pp. xii, 307, \$2.00.) This biography of a well-known Iowa political leader is supplemented by some twenty-five of his speeches, memorials, and addresses.

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LATIN-AMERICAN HISTORY

J. W. Caughey

A Bibliography of the Collective Biography of Spanish America. By JOSEFINA DEL TORO, Assistant Librarian in Charge of Reference, Ibero-American Institute, University of Puerto Rico. (Río Piedras, published by the University, 1938, pp. viii, 140.)

Archivo del General Miranda. Volume XV, *Negociaciones, 1770-1810.* [Academia nacional de la historia.] (Caracas, Tipografía Americana, 1938, pp. vii, 456.) The Academia nacional de historia at Caracas has undertaken to continue publication of the manuscripts of Francisco de Miranda (for a review of the preceding volumes see *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XLIV, 859). Some of the documents printed in this volume antedate the time when Miranda first seriously considered plans to cut the Spanish colonies adrift from the motherland. Among these are papers concerning a rebellion at Socorro in 1781, materials concerning conditions prevailing in Spanish America, and a list of Jesuits expelled from the Spanish Indies who were residing in Italy in 1786. Many of the sources here printed deal with negotiations between Miranda and Pitt on the occasion of the Nootka Sound controversy. Others are concerned with the elaborate plan framed by Miranda in 1797 to link England and the United States in an alliance to free the Indies from Spanish rule. Still other documents illustrate the design entertained by leaders of the French Revolution to emancipate the Spanish colonies, using Saint-Domingue as a base. Various documents link Alexander Hamilton and Henry Knox with the revolutionary plans of the great precursor of Spanish American independence. Letters are published which passed between Miranda and such publicists as Henry Dundas, Thomas Pownall, John Adams, Rufus King, and Brissot de Warville. Here and there throughout this book are found letters and memoranda which illustrate the relations existing between Miranda and Spanish American revolutionaries. Some materials which have already found their way into print are here reprinted; the most important of these is perhaps the rare tract of the Jesuit Juan Pablo Viscardo y Guzmán entitled *Lettre aux Espagnols Américains*, which was first published at Philadelphia in 1799. A careful collation of the proof of documents with the original text would have eliminated certain slips which mar this precious collection of memorabilia. W. S. ROBERTSON.

Derecho civil internacional. By CARLOS SALAZAR FLOR. Volume I. (Quito, Imp. de la Universidad Central, 1938, pp. 527.) Lectures on the history of international civil law, including chapters on the status of foreigners and on nationalism.

Boletín de la Academia nacional de la historia. Volume XXII, No. 85, January, 1939, "Caracas al través de los tiempos". (Caracas, Tipografía Americana, pp. 189.) Observing the fiftieth anniversary of its founding, the Academia has dedicated this number to the city of Caracas. Descriptions by such writers as Juan de Pimental (1572), Oviedo y Baños (1700), José Luis de Cisneros (1764), Alexander von Humboldt (1800), Depons (1806), W. Duane (1822), and Pedro Nuñez de Cáceras are reproduced.

La organización sanitaria de Buenos Aires durante el virreinato del Río de la Plata, 1776-1810. By Dr. JUAN RAMÓN BELTRÁN. [Facultad de ciencias medicas de Buenos Aires.] (Buenos Aires, A. Guidi Buffarini, 1938, pp. 54.) A consideration of public health safeguards by the several viceroys, the *cabildo*, and the medical profession during the thirty-four years of the viceroyalty. Dr. Beltrán concludes that a good foundation was laid for the advances of the period of independence, such as the establishment of the Instituto médico in 1813.

Breve historia general del Ecuador. By OSCAR EFREN REYES. Volume I. (Quito, Imp. de la Universidad central, 1938, pp. iv, 526, \$1.00.) A popular synthesis, particularly of the findings of the last thirty years, with space apportioned as follows: pre-Columbian Ecuador, 150 pages; the Spanish conquest, 100 pages; the social and economic institutions of the colonial regime, 250 pages.

Realidades ecuatorianas: Curso de extension cultural, Mayo-Junio de 1938. (Quito, Imp. de la Universidad Central, 1938, pp. 365, \$2.00.) A cycle of lectures by qualified experts under the auspices of the Universidad Central on various phases of the Ecuadorian scene, including prehistory, geographic distribution of population, literature, music, art, law, constitutional origins, and international relations.

Bolívar internacionalista. By JORGE PÉREZ CONCHA. (Quito, Talleres Gráficos de Educación, 1939, pp. 124.) A review of Bolívar's striving for American solidarity.

Mujeres en la vida de Hostos: Conferencia. By JUAN BOSCH. Second edition. (San Juan de Puerto Rico, Asociación de Mujeres Graduadas de la Universidad de Puerto Rico, 1939, pp. 52.) One of many tributes brought forth by the centenary of the birth of Eugenio María Hostos.

Elogio del Lcdo. Roque E. Garrigó y Salido, Académico de número. By JOAQUÍN LLAVERRÍAS Y MARTÍNEZ. [Academia de la historia de Cuba.] (Havana, Imp. "El Siglo XX", A. Muñiz y Hno, 1938, pp. 40.) Sketches the career of a distinguished political scientist and historian.

Mexico and the United States: Proceedings of the Fifth Annual Conference, Institute of Public Affairs. By S. D. MYRES, JR. [Auspices Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.] (Dallas, Arnold Foundation, Southern Methodist University, 1938, pp. 250.) A series of papers by various scholars on such topics as the Mexican Revolution, agrarian reform in Mexico, the oil question and the issue between oil companies and the Mexican government, the labor situation and international problems, present trends in education, and church and state in Mexico.

W. S. ROBERTSON.

ARTICLES

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HISTORICAL NEWS

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

THE Fifty-fourth Annual Meeting will be held at the Mayflower Hotel, Washington, D. C., on December 28, 29, and 30. Since the hotel does not contain as many assembly rooms as the one at which the Association met in Chicago, the number of sessions will not be so large as that of last year. The program will be devoted in the main to three topics: the technique of cultural analysis and synthesis, the social role of ideas, and cultural conflict and nationality groups. These topics will be treated as units in large general sessions and then divided according to period or region for discussion at round tables. The application of the techniques of the other social sciences and humanities to the study of history will be especially emphasized, and considerable attention will be given to contemporary problems of historical interpretation. Among the special subjects to be discussed are the following: the study of local history, movements of population in the United States, psychology and history, the industrial city, a comparative study of the Slavic, Chinese, and German village, the study of nationality groups in the United States, the relations between the Slavic and German people, secular elements in medieval culture. The usual luncheon conferences will be arranged, at one of which Ambassador Hu Shih will speak, and the dinners of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, the Mediaeval Academy, and the American Historical Association will occupy the evenings. Joint sessions with affiliated historical societies will be provided for.

The annual meeting of the Pacific Coast Branch of the Association will be held on December 27, 28, and 29 at the University of California at Los Angeles. Dr. W. Henry Cooke of Claremont Colleges is chairman of the Program Committee.

The Association is setting aside a portion of the income of the Albert J. Beveridge Memorial Fund for the publication of a series of monographs in any field or period of American history, including Latin-American. Historical scholars who have the degree of doctor of philosophy or who are of equivalent professional standing as demonstrated by previous publication are eligible to submit manuscripts of between 50,000 and 80,000 words to the Albert J. Beveridge Memorial Committee. The committee will consider manuscripts once each year, and all monographs should be in their hands by the end of the first week in January. The manuscripts accepted will be published by the committee in a style similar to that now used in the documentary series of the Beveridge Fund Publications. It is expected that sufficient funds will be available to enable the committee to publish two or three monographs annually. In examining these manuscripts the committee will give favorable consideration only to those which display

expert technique, philosophical grasp of the subject explored, and excellent style. Manuscripts may be submitted to the committee through the Assistant-Secretary of the Association, Miss Patty W. Washington, 740 Fifteenth St., N. W., Washington, D. C., preferably about the first of January of each year, beginning in 1940. It should be noted that the Albert J. Beveridge Memorial Prize is awarded by another committee under a separate set of rules.

The attention of our readers is called to the recently published volumes of the *International Bibliography of Historical Sciences* reviewed on page 186. This bibliography is issued by the International Committee of Historical Sciences, which was created chiefly through the initiative of the representatives of the American Historical Association at the International Congress of Historical Sciences held in Brussels in 1923. The Association is a constituent member of the committee and contributes financially to its work.

Professor Elmer Ellis of the University of Missouri, by reason of the pressure of other obligations, has found it necessary to resign from the chairmanship of the Membership Committee of the Association. Professor Francis P. Weisenburger of Ohio State University has been appointed by the Executive Committee of the Council to succeed him.

OTHER HISTORICAL ACTIVITIES

Among recent accessions to the Division of Manuscripts in the Library of Congress the following may be noted: English deeds and other legal papers of the thirteenth to the nineteenth centuries (over two thousand); Stone family papers (British), 1394-1883 (transcripts); additional papers of the Custis and Lee families of Virginia, 1730-1866; recent letters relating to Richard Bland Lee, 1925-27 (photostats); papers relating to the Protestant Episcopal Church of Maryland and Virginia, 1760-1806; records of the commissioner for confiscated British property in Maryland, August 14 and 15, 1781 (copies); papers of the William Short family, 1785-1875 (photostats), including fifteen letters of Thomas Jefferson, 1790-1825, and nine letters of William Henry Harrison, 1814-37; additional photostats and copies of letters and papers of George Washington, including a letter from the chief justice and associate justices of the Supreme Court and Washington's reply, April 3, 1790; Benjamin Tappan papers, 1793-1873 (fifteen portfolios); journal of Commodore Edward Preble, 1803-1806; David Stanton and Edwin M. Stanton, commissions and other papers, 1818-69; four letters of Charles Jules, comte de Menou, French chargé d'affaires at Washington, 1822-23; fifty-one letters from Charles Carroll of Carrollton to William Gibbons, 1824-29; papers relating to Revolutionary finance and to the First and Second Banks of the United States, 1774-1856 (four portfolios); papers of Brigadier General James B. McPherson, 1848-68 (two portfolios); photostats of pages in two volumes annotated by John Bozman Kerr, U. S.

chargé d'affaires at Nicaragua, 1851-53; papers of the Lincoln family of Virginia, 1746-1939 (two portfolios); Abraham Lincoln's galley proof of his first inaugural address with interpolations, March 4, 1861 (photograph); letter of President Lincoln to General Frémont, September 11, 1861 (photograph); papers of Major William Richardson, Union paymaster during the Civil War; three diaries of James H. M. Montgomery, captain, 33d Regiment, Ohio Volunteer Infantry, 1862-64; three diaries of Lyman C. Holford of the 6th Regiment, Wisconsin Volunteer Infantry, 1861-65; letter copy book (letters sent) by William P. Fessenden, Secretary of the Treasury, July 6, 1864-March 3, 1865; diary and memoranda of George Darius Downey, member of the United States Christian Commission, 1862-65; White House letter copy book of Ulysses S. Grant (letters sent), March 5-December 8, 1869; reminiscences and excerpts from diary by Michael McCarthy, colonel, 1st U. S. Cavalry, 1873-1903; additional papers of Jefferson Davis, Varina Howell Davis, and other members of the Davis family; photographs of two documents relating to Modesto de Fornaris Ochoa, Cuban revolutionist; seventeen letters (miscellaneous) by Andrew Carnegie, Paul Dana, Charles W. Eliot, and others, 1897-1917; Alfred Thayer Mahan's correspondence with John M. Brown, publisher, 1893-1905; additional papers of Chandler P. Anderson; correspondence of the Sultan of Jolo, 1901-1905; papers relating to the American National Institute, Paris, France, 1895-1939; papers of William E. Humphrey, 1903-1906; material relating to Baha'I, collected by Charles Mason Remey, including his diary, reminiscences, and letters (copies); English translation of Philippe Bunau-Varilla's *De Panama à Verdun* (typewritten copy).

The National Archives has recently issued in processed form the following Staff Information Circulars: (1) "Archival Training in Prussia", a translation of a lecture by the German archivist Albert Brackmann which appeared in the *Archivalische Zeitschrift* in 1931; (2) "Report on a Scientific Mission to German, Austrian, and Swiss Archives", a translation of the official report of the Belgian archivist Joseph Cuvelier which appeared in *Les archives de l'état en Belgique* in 1914; (3) "Answers to some Questions most frequently asked about the National Archives"; (4) "Repair and Preservation in the National Archives", by Arthur E. Kimberly; and (5) "European Archival Practices in arranging Records", by Theodore R. Schellenberg. The history and functions of the National Archives are discussed by Solon J. Buck in an article entitled "Das Nationalarchiv der Vereinigten Staaten von Nordamerika", which appeared in the *Archivalische Zeitschrift*, XLV (1939), 16-33.

Records from more than thirty diplomatic and one hundred and fifty consular posts in Europe, Latin America, the Indian Ocean area, and various other parts of the world have been received in pursuance of a four-year program, begun in 1938, under which the records of all such posts to

August 15, 1912, are to be transferred to the National Archives. These records contain information supplementary to that appearing in the records of the State Department in Washington. Use of any of these records post-dating August 14, 1906, is restricted. Other accessions recently received by the National Archives include papers filed in cases brought before the Court of Claims, 1855-1923; War Department accounting records, 1800-1925; organizations strength returns of the American Expeditionary Forces, 1917-20; correspondence and related papers concerning the location, construction, maintenance, and repair of public buildings, 1837-1933; records of the Potomac Company and its successor, the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Company, 1785-1900; some 17,000 maps constituting the bulk of the collection created and used by the Office of Indian Affairs, 1830-1937; documents concerning Spanish and Mexican land grants in California, 1780-1846, which were formerly in the Public Survey Office at Glendale, California; correspondence and other records of the Bureau of Chemistry and of the Food, Drug, and Insecticide Administration, 1907-29; correspondence of the Lighthouse Board and of its successor, the Bureau of Lighthouses, 1901-25; and records of the Merchant Fleet Corporation, concerned chiefly with the operation of vessels, 1917-33. Rear Admiral Richard E. Byrd has presented about 380,000 feet of motion-picture film portraying rather fully his two antarctic expeditions and less extensively his North Pole and trans-atlantic flights.

Recent accessions to the Southern Historical Collection of Manuscripts at the University of North Carolina include: the papers of Hugh McGavock of Rockbridge County, Virginia; an addition to the Jacob M. Dickinson papers; a collection of fifty letters to and from Felix Grundy; a marriage record book and an autograph album kept by the Reverend Archibald McFayden of North Carolina; five plantation records, 1861-65, of Phanor Prudhomme of Bermuda Plantation, Natchitoches Parish, Louisiana; the papers of Theodore Richmond of Ohio and Tennessee; the order book kept by Colonel S. H. Lockett, who was in charge of the defenses of Vicksburg; the papers of Marion Butler of North Carolina, Populist leader and U. S. Senator; the papers of William A. Graham, governor of North Carolina, U. S. Senator, Secretary of the Navy, member of the secession convention, president pro tem of the Confederate Senate, member of the Peabody Board, and member of the Maryland-Virginia Boundary Commission; the papers of Matt W. Ranson, attorney general of North Carolina, Confederate general, U. S. Senator, and minister to Mexico; a collection of papers of Governor James McDowell of Virginia; a collection of letters of Mary Moore Watters of Wilmington; a few important letters and other papers of Franklin H. Elmore of South Carolina; the diary of Grace Elmore; the papers of Elmer Roberts of Indiana and Florida, for many years a European representative of the Associated Press; the diary of Kate S. Carney of Murfreesboro, Tennessee; an account and record book of

Charles Henry Campfield of Georgia; one volume of the diary of Moses Young Henderson of Georgia; two volumes of the diary of Laura Beecher (Mrs. James) Comer of Alabama; a large addition to the Elliott-Mackay-Stiles papers; a collection of the papers of Dr. J. Marion Sims, the eminent surgeon; twenty-eight additional volumes of the Arthur P. Gorman scrapbooks; the plantation diary of Alexander J. Lawton of Beaufort District, South Carolina; the Appleton-Arnold papers, including many letters and many volumes of the diary of Louisa Arnold Appleton; the papers of the Dickens family of Fairfax, Virginia, including numerous important record books; a typewritten copy of the diary of Joseph Cottrell of Florida; a typewritten copy of the Civil War letters of Captain George Cadman, U.S.A.; diary of Margaret Anne Ulmer of Grove Hill, Alabama; and the papers of William L. Saunders, Confederate soldier, editor, secretary of state of North Carolina, secretary of the Board of Trustees of the University of North Carolina for many years, and editor of the Colonial Records of North Carolina.

All the papers concerning the public career of Senator Edward Prentiss Costigan of Colorado have been donated by Mrs. Costigan to the Historical Collections of the University of Colorado. This rich collection will be available for the use of scholars by March, 1940, in the new library of the university.

Announcement has been made of the establishment of a quarterly periodical entitled *Journal of the History of Ideas*, to be devoted to intellectual history with special emphasis on the interrelations of philosophy, literature, the arts, the natural and social sciences, religion, and political and social movements. The journal is to be edited by Professor Arthur O. Lovejoy (Johns Hopkins) in association with Professors Crane Brinton (Harvard), Gilbert Chinard (Princeton), Morris R. Cohen (Chicago), Francis W. Coker (Yale), Richard P. McKeon (Chicago), Marjorie H. Nicolson (Smith College), J. H. Randall, jr. (Columbia), J. Salwyn Schapiro (City College, New York), and Louis B. Wright (Huntington Library). Each number will contain 128 pages of articles, reviews, etc. Advance subscriptions will expedite the issuance of the first number of Volume I by January, 1940. Subscription rates (domestic): \$4 for one year, \$7 for two years, \$10 for three years, \$1.25 for a single issue; foreign rates: \$4.50 for one year, \$1.50 for a single issue. All communications should be addressed to the managing editor, Philip P. Wiener, City College, Convent Avenue and 139th Street, New York City.

The Mississippi Valley Press, recently organized in Oxford, Ohio, plans to publish books pertaining to the cultural and political history of the United States. It has issued two volumes in a Men of America Series—*William Salter, Western Torchbearer* by Philip D. Jordan and *Thomas Riley Marshall, Hoosier Statesman* by Charles M. Thomas.

Three important books in American history have been republished in the Facsimile Library, of which Barnes and Noble are exclusive distributors. These are *The Supreme Court and the Constitution* by Charles A. Beard, *Political Ideas of the American Revolution* by Randolph G. Adams, and *Colonial Merchants and the American Revolution* by Arthur M. Schlesinger.

At the request of Dr. Abel Chaneton, president of the Sociedad de historia argentina, permission has been given by both John F. Cady and the University of Pennsylvania Press to have the volume entitled *Foreign Intervention in the Rio de la Plata, 1838-1850*, translated into Spanish. The translation is to be made under the direction of the Argentine Society.

PERSONAL

Ernest Alexander Cruikshank died at Ottawa on June 23 at the age of eighty-five. Born and reared in the Niagara peninsula, he continued throughout his life to be drawn to the history of this region. A soldier since 1877 and a brigadier general since 1915, he wrote extensively on early Canadian military history and particularly on episodes in the War of 1812. His numerous studies on the Niagara campaigns of that war, done with soldierly care and precision, are among the more distinctive of his contributions to Canadian history. In his later years he became increasingly absorbed in the story of Loyalist settlements in Ontario. His larger works are mostly collections of documents rather than interpretative studies. Among these are his nine-volume *Documentary History of the Campaigns upon the Niagara Frontier*; an *Inventory of the Military Documents in the Canadian Archives*; a *History of the Military and Naval Forces of Canada to 1784*; *The Settlement of the United Empire Loyalists on the Upper St. Lawrence*; the *Simcoe Papers* in five volumes; and (with A. F. Hunter) the *Correspondence of the Honourable Peter Russell* in three volumes. His period of productive scholarship covered more than half a century. General Cruikshank was chairman of the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada from the time of its inception in 1922 until his death.

Percy John King, who died on June 23, was actively interested in Catholic educational, social, and historical work. He contributed to the publications of the United States Catholic Historical Society, of which he was president for many years.

Sir Henry Stuart-Jones, former vice-chancellor of the University of Wales, died on June 29 at the age of seventy-two. A classical scholar in the wider sense of the term, he made many contributions to the study of Roman history, including *The Roman Empire* (1908) in the Story of the Nations series, *Companion to Roman History* (1912), and chapters on early Rome and the principate of Augustus in the *Cambridge Ancient History*.

Nathaniel Schmidt, professor emeritus of Semitic languages and of

Oriental history at Cornell University, died on June 30. He was born at Hudiksvall, Sweden, on May 22, 1862, studied at Stockholm University from 1882 to 1884, at Colgate University from 1884 to 1887, and at the University of Berlin in 1890. He was professor of Semitic languages and literatures at Colgate from 1888 to 1896, when he went to Cornell. As one of the first exponents of the Higher Criticism of the Old Testament in America, he suffered for his faith. His knowledge was encyclopedic, and his courses covered all the Near Eastern languages, ancient and modern, and the histories of an even wider range of countries. He was keenly interested in every phase of modern religious and social life, and his wide learning was shown at its best in a great variety of articles, scientific and popular, and in numerous semipopular books. Of these the most important are his *Prophet of Nazareth*, which reached a second edition in 1907, and his *Ibn Khaldun, Historian, Sociologist, and Philosopher* (1930). He was president of the Society of Biblical Literature, 1914-15, and of the American Oriental Society, 1931-32.

Harold William Vazeille Temperley, master of Peterhouse (of which he had been a fellow since 1904) and professor of modern history in the University of Cambridge, died in Cambridge on July 11 at the age of sixty. His health, which had been affected by his experiences at Gallipoli and Salonika during the war, had not been good for some years. He was one of the ablest and best-known English historians of our time. In the first place, he had a long list of excellent books to his credit, among which may be mentioned *Life of George Canning* (1905); *Frederick the Great and Kaiser Joseph* (1915); *History of Serbia* (1917); *Foreign Policy of Canning* (1925); *Europe in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (1927), with A. J. Grant; *England and the Near East: The Crimea* (1936), the first of three volumes on the period 1827-78; and *Foundations of British Foreign Policy from Pitt, 1792, to Salisbury, 1902*, (1938) and *A Century of Diplomatic Blue Books, 1814-1914* (1938), both with L. M. Penson. In the second place, Temperley was coeditor, with G. P. Gooch, of *British Documents on the Origins of the War, 1898-1914* (11 vols.; 1926-38); in this task he displayed untiring energy, great common sense, and complete disinterestedness—qualities which contributed much to the recognition accorded to these volumes as a source for the study of British policy. A somewhat similar enterprise was the *History of the Peace Conference of Paris* (6 vols.; 1920-24), which he edited for the Royal Institute of International Affairs, a work to which many Americans contributed. His last editorial work was the planning of the *Cambridge Modern History*, New Series, to which he expected to contribute several chapters. Thirdly, Temperley was for many years a member of the executive committee of the International Congress of Historical Studies and its president from 1933 to 1938; in this capacity he had ample opportunity to display his astonishing knowledge of languages and to exercise his considerable diplomatic talents,

for he was a practical diplomatist, having been attached to the British delegation at the Paris Peace Conference, sent on a mission to Montenegro, and a member of the Albanian Frontier Commission in 1921. Temperley was a member of the Historical Manuscripts Commission, a fellow of the British Academy, a corresponding member of numerous Continental academies and of the Massachusetts Historical Society, the holder of numerous honorary degrees, and the possessor of decorations from Rumania, Poland, and Serbia. He was a most agreeable companion and an excellent *raconteur*. If he was sometimes a sharp critic, he was always dominated by a passionate zeal for truth and was never afraid to criticize the action of his own country. His passing will be deeply lamented by historians everywhere, not least so in the United States, where he had many friends and admirers.

On July 18 Edwin R. A. Seligman, McVickar Professor Emeritus of Political Economy at Columbia University, died at the age of seventy-eight. His training and career centered at Columbia. He received there his B. A. in 1879 and in 1884 the degrees of Ph. D. and LL. B. In addition he studied at the universities of Berlin, Heidelberg, Geneva, and at the École des Sciences politiques in Paris. Beginning as a prize lecturer in political economy in 1885, he served on the Columbia Faculty of Political Science the rest of his life. He was trained in the tradition of the organic unity of the social sciences in terms of historical development as conceived by Professor John William Burgess in the establishment of that faculty in 1880. As a consequence, Professor Seligman's interest in history was keen and fruitful. His doctoral dissertation, *Two Chapters on Medieval Guilds*, was part of a projected study on the social and economic history of Europe. The widely read *Economic Interpretation of History*, while by no means Marxian, focused attention on the usefulness of various economic interpretations for the student of history. His paper "Robert Owen and the Christian Socialists", appearing in 1886, led the way in the academic world to treating radical thinkers of the past in an objective manner. Most of Professor Seligman's work was in public finance, but many of his monographs in this field contain comprehensive historical introductions valuable not only to students of the subject and of the history of economic thought but also to students of the history of ideas and government policy. His criticisms of the Supreme Court's opinion in 1895 of the unconstitutionality of the income tax are still of considerable interest to students of American constitutional and economic history. Of great value to history and the allied sciences was his ability as an organizer. In 1885 he, with a few others, founded the American Economic Association to advance the social sciences by means of history and statistics rather than speculation. On his shoulders fell the responsibility for securing the funds necessary for the preparation and publication of the *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences* and seeing through to completion that monumental enterprise. He performed a notable service

in collecting a vast library of rare works which is now the property of Columbia University. Containing 32,000 books and bound pamphlets and several hundred broadsides and ranging from the fifteenth to the middle of the nineteenth century, it is a mine of source material for students of European and American economic history and economic thought.

The Archivist of the United States announces the appointment of Ralph G. Lounsbury, formerly assistant professor of history at New York University, as a consultant in Latin-American affairs in the Division of Reference. Raemey A. Burton recently resigned his position in the Division of Labor Department Archives. Emmett J. Leahy has returned to duty in the Division of Treasury Department Archives from a world tour during which he visited eighteen archival agencies, most of them on the European continent.

The following changes are noticed in the headships of departments: *Atlanta University*, Rushton Coulborn; *Butler University*, Roy M. Robbins (also promoted to be professor and appointed head of the division of graduate studies); *Michigan State College*, M. M. Knappen of the University of Chicago; *Mount Holyoke College*, Viola F. Barnes in succession to N. Neilson, retired; *Mount Union College*, William A. Mabry of Duke University; *Princeton University*, Raymond J. Sontag in succession to Dana G. Munro, resigned to become director of the School of Public and International Affairs; *Randolph-Macon Woman's College*, Robert Meade; *Sweet Briar College*, Dora Neill Raymond.

Announcement is made of the following promotions: *University of California* (Berkeley), Franklin C. Palm to be professor and Lawrence F. Harper to be assistant professor; *University of California* (Los Angeles), John W. Caughey to be associate professor; *University of Colorado*, Fritz L. Hoffmann to be assistant professor; *Kalamazoo College*, Willis Frederick Dunbar to be associate professor; *North Carolina State College*, George Bauerlein to be assistant professor; *Queens College*, Koppel S. Pinson to be assistant professor; *Randolph-Macon Woman's College*, Howard Lewis Briggs to be adjunct professor.

The following appointments are noted: *Fordham University*, Charles C. Tansill as professor; *George Washington University*, Oliver L. Spaulding as lecturer on the military history of the United States; *College of Idaho*, James F. Clarke of the Cambridge School of Liberal Arts as professor; *State University of Iowa*, G. P. Cuttino and Goldwin Smith; *Mary Washington College*, Richard H. Bauer of American University as assistant professor; *Moravian College*, Amos A. Ettinger of Lehigh University as professor; *Mount Holyoke College*, Frederick Cramer and Henry Grattan of New Jersey College for Women; *Pomona College*, John H. Gleason of Harvard as assistant professor; *Queens College*, Gaudens Megaro of City College, New York, and Hans Baron.

The following leaves of absence are noted: *Ohio University*, A. T. Volwiler, for the year, to carry on research and writing in the Harrison-Cleveland period; *University of Washington*, Henry S. Lucas, for the year, to study and travel in Europe on a Belgian American Foundation Fellowship; *Yale University*, Stanley M. Pargellis, for the year, to be visiting professor of American history at Scripps College.

William Scott Ferguson, professor of ancient history at Harvard and president of the American Historical Association, has been appointed dean of the Harvard faculty of arts and sciences. He will have as assistants Paul H. Buck, assistant professor of history, and William C. Graustein.

Edward A. Whitney, formerly associate professor of history at Harvard University, who as one of the Huntington Library Research Fellows for 1939-40 has been carrying on a study in English religious history of the sixteenth century, has accepted an appointment as a member of the permanent research staff at Huntington beginning this October.

Kenneth Chorley, president of Colonial Williamsburg, announces the appointment of a committee of historians to assist in an advisory capacity in the historical work of the Department of Research and Record of the Restoration. They will participate primarily in connection with the projected series of historical and scholarly publications on colonial Virginia life which has been undertaken by the department. Invitations to serve on this committee have been accepted by Thomas Jefferson Wertenbaker, Charles M. Andrews, Arthur M. Schlesinger, Samuel E. Morison, Virginius Dabney, Earl G. Swem, and Richard L. Morton:

The Social Science Research Council has awarded the following grants-in-aid in the historical field: Mildred Campbell, Vassar College, Colonial emigration, 1654-1685; Chester Wells Clark, the European background and the causes of the struggle between the French and German nations culminating in 1866-71; Dora Mae Clark, Wilson College, the British Treasury in the administration of the American colonies in the eighteenth century; Joseph Waldo Ellison, Oregon State College, imperialism in Samoa and world politics in the Pacific; Grace Fox, the British admiralty on Anglo-Japanese policy, 1854-68; Mose Lofley Harvey, Emory University, the economic development of Southern Russia, 1856-1914; Hilmar C. Krueger, University of Wisconsin, Genoese commerce in the thirteenth century and an analysis of the commercial and business associations employed in this commerce; Agnes Mathilde Larson, St. Olaf College, the white pine industry in the upper Mississippi region; Edmond S. Meany, jr., Hill School, the lumber industry in the Pacific Northwest; William Thomas Morgan, Indiana University, a political and social history of Great Britain, 1710-16; Richard B. Morris, City College, New York, labor relations in America in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; H. G. Plum, State University of Iowa, the persistence of the Puritan ideals through the later Stuart period;

Maxwell Hicks Savelle, Stanford University, the diplomatic history of America, 1713-63; Abbot Emerson Smith, Bard College, indentured servants and redemptioners in the American colonies; Norman J. Ware, Wesleyan University, a comparative study of labor relations in Great Britain and the United States; Vertrees J. Wyckoff, St. John's College, the economic history of Maryland during the seventeenth century. Southern grants-in-aid are: Wilfrid Hardy Callcott, University of South Carolina, the Caribbean policy of the United States, 1890-1920; Earl F. Cruickshank, Vanderbilt University, European imperialism in northwestern Africa from about 1875 to 1895; Thomas Payne Govan, University of Chattanooga, the credit system and the cotton trade in the Old South; Shelby T. McCloy, Duke University, government assistance in eighteenth century France; Daniel Merritt Robison, Vanderbilt University, the Whig tradition in the Solid South; Austin L. Venable, University of Arkansas, the public career of William Lowndes Yancey. A postdoctoral fellowship was awarded to J. E. Wallace Sterling, California Institute of Technology, for field experience in London and the Fiji Islands in a study of British imperialism. The pre-doctoral field fellowships are: Richard M. Carrigan, Princeton University, social and economic conditions of South Carolina; Roderic H. Davison, Harvard University, westernization of the Ottoman Empire; Harre M. G. Labatt-Simon, Columbia University, contemporary conditions in Japan and the Far East; Daniel Thorner, Columbia University, contemporary imperial administration of India.

COMMUNICATIONS

THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

In reviewing my *Philip II* in your January issue, Professor Roger B. Merriman complains with evident rancor that "Mr. Walsh has a most irritating habit of trying to show off his knowledge by ostentatious efforts to correct mistakes that other authors did not make, revealing his own preposterous incompetence in the process. On page 332, for example, he takes pride in pointing out that 'Vesalius was not an Italian doctor but a Dutchman', whereas Vesalius, as a matter of fact, was a Belgian, born in Brussels." This is doubly amusing. "As a matter of fact" the family of Vesalius *was* Dutch, though he was born in Brussels—their name, according to a letter by the great anatomist himself, was Wytinck or Wittings; they originated, he said, in Wesel (near Cleves, now in West Germany, but then surely Dutch in population), and changed their name to that of the town, which was then Latinized as Vesalius. The point is surely of no great consequence! But I am not a little astonished that Mr. Merriman should mention it as one of his two examples of my errors of fact "on almost every page". For this passing reference to Vesalius came into my book apropos of one of his own most egregious blunders. Surely he owed it to your readers to acknowledge that he was one of the authors whose mistakes I pointed out in my work (as he has noted the mistakes of others in his). Indeed, my book contains 35 references, some complimentary, some quite the reverse, to his *Rise of the Spanish Empire*, Volume IV, but unlike his sweeping and angry criticisms, specific and well documented. Commenting on his judgment that "Archbishop Carranza was unjustly suspected of Protestant leanings. . . . There was not the slightest basis for the charge", I give a list, on page 395, of sixteen false propositions which Pope

Gregory XIII imputed to Carranza when he found him guilty of holding opinions "similar to those of Luther and Melancthon". Elsewhere I was obliged to notice that Professor Merriman's knowledge of Cabrera de Córdoba's *Historia de Felipe II* (which he had called an "indispensable" contemporary source that the serious historian of Philip II "must have constantly by his side") left something to be desired. I could not help noting that, while Professor Merriman denied that Philip II visited his son in prison, his indispensable source, Cabrera, asserts that he went twice, and would have gone again but for the advice of the boy's confessor. Nor did my "violently Roman Catholic" attitude, to which Mr. Merriman objects, prevent my recording, on the word of Cabrera, that King Philip rejoiced much (*holgó mucho*) when he heard of St. Bartholomew's Eve, though Mr. Merriman could find "no contemporary evidence" that Philip laughed at an event more useful to him than a victory in the field, however we may despise Catherine de Médicis and her weakling son. I could give other examples, but one more must suffice: Vesalius appears on page 332 of my *Philip II* at the end of a demonstration of the surprising quackery of Professor Merriman and others who have persisted in assigning the recovery of Don Carlos from his illness in 1562 to a trepanning operation by the noted anatomist. I showed, first, that Vesalius, though present, did not perform the operation; second, that the operation was *begun* by another surgeon, but left uncompleted, with the skull unperforated. I discussed two contemporary accounts referred to by Mr. Merriman with lofty disdain in a footnote; I showed that one was authentic, the other a forgery; that Mr. Merriman could not have read either of them and was, moreover, ignorant of the fact that the Catholic Church canonized St. Didacus, the Franciscan lay-brother for whose relics he expressed a contempt rooted in appalling ignorance. In short, I caught Professor Merriman accepting the warmed-over opinions of the nineteenth century Forneron in preference to contemporary evidence of the highest value.

I can well believe, then, that your reviewer found my book "most irritating", for it exposed the shabby and slipshod and bigoted methods by which he, and the whole anti-Catholic historical conspiracy to justify the tragic division of Christendom have dealt with Catholic Spain and the Church. It was unethical, under the circumstances, for him to review my work without acknowledging that his ox was gored; and I appeal from his testimony, both in his review and in whatever reply he may see fit to make to this letter, to the court of those impartial historians who can and will ascertain, not by taking his word or mine, but by checking our references, where the truth lies. I could prove this to the hilt but for the limitations you have imposed upon this letter. I invite all who may be interested in the subject to consult my references to Mr. Merriman, listed in the index to my work, and then to look up the contemporary sources referred to. They will find that I have read these sources, even if he has not.

WILLIAM THOMAS WALSH.

THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

The phraseology of the first sentence of the second paragraph of Mr. Walsh's letter, printed above, will probably seem to many of your readers to render supererogatory any reply; it certainly makes abundantly clear the point of view from which he writes. Yet it is perhaps worth while to deal, in some detail, with the special points he brings up in order to show the methods by which he arrives at what he believes to be the truth.

In the first place, Mr. Walsh pins far too much faith to Cabrera de Córdoba; he "found the leaves of the third volume (of the copy in the Library of Congress) still uncut after their fifty-four years of dignified seclusion" and believed that he

had discovered an unimpeachable authority. Now Cabrera began collecting his materials during the reign of the Prudent King, but probably did not begin the composition of his work till after Philip's death; it is certainly "indispensable" and deserves classification as a contemporary authority, but it equally certainly is not a "source", and I never characterized it as such. I stand by my statement that "any serious historian of the reign must have it constantly by his side", and I should say the same of John Foxe's *Acts and Monuments* for the reign of Mary Tudor; but I should never dream of accepting the statements of the first any more than I should those of the second, without careful verification elsewhere.

Mr. Walsh seems to have virtually admitted the truth of my statement that Vesalius was a Belgian rather than a Dutchman (save for his incredible dictum that Cleves was "then surely Dutch in population"); but the words which I selected as one (of many) of "his ostentatious efforts to correct mistakes that other authors did not make", are contained in the first clause of the last sentence of the third paragraph of his 332nd page. "Finally, for good measure", he announces, after a series of thrusts at earlier and more competent historians, "Vesalius was not an Italian doctor. . . ." But who ever said he was? Mr. Walsh might just as well have boasted that he had discovered that Vesalius was not a Chinaman.

In regard to the death of Don Carlos Mr. Walsh seems to me to have "showed" nothing save that he has not read the most recent authorities; excessive faith in Cabrera has, as usual, been his undoing. And I am afraid I do not quite see what the fact (of which I was fully aware) that St. Didacus was canonized by Sixtus V in 1588, twenty years after Don Carlos's death, has to do with the matter.

I also fear that I am unable to alter my opinion that "there was not the slightest basis for the charge" of Protestant leanings against Carranza, because of the list of "sixteen false propositions" which Gregory XIII imputed to him. Those "sixteen false propositions", as everyone who has read up the case well knows, were "nothing but a peg on which to hang a sentence" which Gregory gave, with the utmost reluctance, as the sole method of terminating an undignified quarrel between the papacy and the Spanish Inquisition which had dragged on, intermittently, for nearly twenty years. But even if all this were not true, I could not accept Gregory's "sixteen false propositions" as conclusive evidence of Carranza's heretical leanings, any more than I could accept the decrees and prohibitions of Paul V and Urban VIII, and of the Inquisition and Index against Galileo, as proof that the earth is the center of the universe, and that the sun revolves around it.

One more point—infinitesimally small to be sure—but illustrative of Mr. Walsh's gross carelessness in the use of words. On page 297 of my fourth volume I state that "Philip is reported" on the authority of Froude "to have laughed when he heard the news" of the Saint Bartholomew, but that I could "find no contemporary evidence to prove it." To this Mr. Walsh replies, on the authority again of Cabrera (and he could have got far better evidence if he had read the article referred to in my footnote), that the king rejoiced (*holgó mucho*) when he got word of the massacre, and accepts that as contemporary evidence that he "laughed". Now I never denied that the king rejoiced on this occasion; he would not have been human if he had not; but I still maintain that there is not the slightest evidence that he laughed; to have done so would have been utterly foreign to his nature. Laughing and rejoicing are not identical. There are many things—like the recovery of a parent or child from a dangerous illness—at which we rejoice but do not laugh; there are others—like Mr. Walsh's historical efforts—at which we laugh but cannot rejoice.

ROGER B. MERRIMAN.

THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

On page 683 of the *American Historical Review* for April, 1939, there appears a review by M. I. Finkelstein of Professor Macurdy's *Vassal-Queens and Some Contemporary Women in the Roman Empire*. This work, a sequel to the author's *Hellenistic Queens*, brings together the available evidence bearing on the careers of about twenty-five royal women, important, as the preface clearly points out, because of the light that they throw on "the phenomenon of the power and influence still exercised by women after the downfall of the Hellenistic kingdoms". For a study of this sort, 148 pages do not appear to constitute a volume of excessive length.

I am writing to you not simply to point out that the reviewer is ill-natured—that is his own business—but that he makes a serious charge when he accuses the author of "racialism . . . particularly unfortunate at the present time." Anyone who knows Professor Macurdy even slightly can tell the reviewer how free she is of any prejudice of that sort, and Mr. Finkelstein is going very far indeed when he bases such a charge on a casual reference which she makes to Cleopatra's Macedonian blood.

"Racialism" is indeed unfortunate at any time. So is the kind of irresponsible accusation here made by Mr. Finkelstein. In the interests of truth and the author's good name, I ask you to print this letter in your journal.

H. N. MACCRACKEN.

THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

Frankly, I do not think that Professor Macurdy's book merits further discussion in the *American Historical Review*, but President MacCracken has raised one issue which does. When I commented on Professor Macurdy's racism, I was not interested in her personal views or prejudices (and I am quite willing to believe that she is free from "racial" prejudice) but in a tendency among historians of which her book is symptomatic. Ancient historians in particular reveal a tendency to make thoroughly unscientific use of the term "race" and to offer "racial" explanations of historical phenomena. By so doing they are playing directly into the hands of Nazi propagandists, for the endless succession of "casual" references like Professor Macurdy's helps to prepare the ground for acceptance of Nordicism, Aryanism, etc. Only last month a vicious attack on the alien in America by the Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York used the argument that it was "race mixture" which destroyed the civilizations of Greece and Rome. Where did they discover this argument? In the writings of well-meaning historians who are themselves free from "any prejudice of that sort".

I should like to emphasize that my point rests not only on political grounds but also on the strongest scientific bases. Last year the American Anthropological Association unanimously passed a resolution which stated: "Race involves the inheritance of similar physical variations by large groups of mankind, but its psychological and cultural connotations, if they exist, have not been ascertained by science." Historians have no more right to cast such conclusions aside than they have to ignore the pertinent findings of geology or chemistry.

It is regrettable that the issue has become personalized in this case. I should like to repeat that I intended no reflection on Professor Macurdy's good name. My one concern is in the elimination of an unscientific view which has such frightful implications in our contemporary world.

M. I. FINKELSTEIN.